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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON
ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR
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188-374

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Extract from the

Report on English + Vernacular Newspapers for the year 1917

24th Feb to 17th March 1917

(From Page 188 — 374)

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 24TH FEBRUARY 1917.

No. 8 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

Sir S.P. Sinha.

12. The West Coast Spectator, of the 15th February, observes:- "We regret to see that 'Sinha--baiting' is still being continued with great vigor in the columns of some of our contemporaries. New India has already damned Sir Satyendra Sinha, because he is not a star-gazer, and what has pained us most is that the Bengalee has opened its columns to bitter abuse of the distinguished jurist. These scribes who assail are unworthy of even untying his shoe lace, and blessed with a fund of impudence they bark like so many pariah dogs at the moon. That the 'Tribune of the People' should have handed over a fellow-leader to the attacks of obscure scribes does not certainly redound to his credit.

Indians in South Africa.

14. In commenting on the reply give by General Smuts to an address presented to him by the British Indian community, Cape Town, in which he praises the behaviour of Indian soldiers in East Africa,

New India, of the 17th February, says:- "While all this talk is going on we would like to remind the South African whites that their treatment of British Indians in their own country requires a fundamental change. To talk of them in their time of need as 'heroes of Asia' and to treat them as untouchables in their own cities seems a little incongruous. Would it be too much to expect them to think better of them in the future and to mend their own ways?"

15. The Hindu, of the 17th February, writes:- "As we go to press, we learn that the Punjab Government have by an order, dated, the 13th instant, prohibited Mr. B.G. Tilak from entering the province of the Punjab. . . . .
The authorities are apparently in a state of panic and are unable to view things in their proper perspective. It is stated on good authority that Mr. Tilak did not intend to visit the Punjab; neither does he seem to have been invited there. The prohibition is therefore all the more surprising and inexplicable."

The Government of the Punjab and Mr. B.G. Tilak.

21. The following appears in New India, of the 19th February:-

"Needed Quick Action.

The Public Services Commission.

"The announcement by Mr. Chamberlain that the Government of India have been asked to report as soon as possible on the recommendations of the Public Services Commission ought to be noted throughout the country. Mr. Chamberlain has thus directly summoned us--whether he willed that interpretation or not--to make our

representations without any delay. Whatever the Government may ultimately do, let us make the Indian standpoint quite clear, viz., that we will not tolerate any action that will treat the Queen's Proclamation as a scrap of paper."

22. The Indian Patriot, of the 19th February, observes:-

The Round Table conspiracy.

"Three Honourable Members of the Imperial Legislative Council had asked questions regarding the Round Table activities in India, represented by Mr. Curtis, and assisted by certain high officials. Sir Reginald Craddock, replying on behalf of the Government, said that the Government of India had no special knowledge of the Round Table or its groups; but he laid on the table the statements made by Sir James Meston and the Hon'ble Mr. Marris, together with the answer given in the United Provinces Legislative Council in regard to the printing of Mr. Curtis' letter. 'I have only to add,' said Sir Reginald Craddock in conclusion, 'that an enquiry has been made, but no documents have been furnished, by the authority of the Government of India, to Mr. Curtis.' The Government of India have thus washed their hands of the Curtis' affair; but they cannot entirely acquit themselves of all blame. They must have known something of the enterprise on which Mr. Curtis came to India. Mr. Curtis was in Simla, and had interviewed several of the Government of India officials. . . . . .It is a notorious fact that the Colonies had accorded the most insulting and th

most degrading treatment to Indians within their limits. They did not treat them as British subjects, nor even as human beings. Yet the Round Table proposal was to make Indians in India subject to the Colonies. Could there ever be a more provoking cause, calculated to inflame the minds of the people of India? Yet what did the Government do? Mr. Curtis was an honoured guest at Government House wherever he went. Officials helped him with information; they assisted him in preparing his letter to the Secretary of the Round Table. . . . . .It was obviously the duty of the Government when they knew of his plan or at last when the plan became public property to ask Mr. Curtis not to cause trouble in India in this time of war. This was specially necessary when several local Governments were putting the Defence of India Act in force against individuals for the 'safety' of India lest mere exercise of the right of public speech might cause danger to public 'safety'.. . . . . .It is a question affecting the fundamental constitution of India; and officials in India, who are subordinate to the Viceroy, have no right to offer advice to a constitution-maker coming from one of the Colonies. Why did not the Government of India censure those officials for participating in a scheme so obnoxious to all classes of Indians."?

India and the Imperial Parliament.

23. The Hindu, of the 20th February, states:--"We have referred already to the different schools of thought in England regarding the constitution and composition of the Imperial Parliament

and the position that is proposed to be given to India. . . . . .In the early stages of the War, Members of the Cabinet and of the Opposition and Pro-consuls vied with one another in warmly acknowledging the services of India and in generously promising India an equal position with the rest of the Empire in any Imperial organisation that may be set up after the war. But such manifestations of goodwill have become very rare of late and some satisfaction appears to be felt that India is to be represented in the forthcoming Imperial Conference by the Secretary of State. It does not occur to the English public that India has not much reason to be proud of the representation accorded to her. It passes our comprehension why India should be treated differently from the self-governing Colonies, and why even those who desire to admit the justice of recognising the claims of India to equal treatment, should prescribe a different formula for her representation in the Council of the Empire. . . . .
The Master of Balliol is entitled to the gratitude of India for the place he is inclined to give to India in the Empire Parliament. But there is no rhyme nor reason in the suggestion that the representatives of India should be nominated, while those of the Dominions should be elected. It is an alien bureaucracy that rules over India, and it is on this account all the more necessary that Indians, duly elected, should be sent to the Imperial Parliament in order to place the ~~pra~~ purely Indian point of view and advance Indian interests. Indians nominated by the Government cannot command the confidence and popularity of elected Indians and representa-

tion by the former cannot therefore be considered in any way satisfactory. But the differential treatment proposed by the Master of Balliol is evidence of the under-current of thought in influential circles in England about Indian affairs. Such opinions and prejudices have to be demonstrated to be harmful to India, prejudicial to her interests and hurtful to her dignity."

27. The Indian Patriot, of the 22nd February, writes:-

The working of the Defence of India Act.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on internments was, as is the custom, disallowed by the official majority. We cannot congratulate the Government of India on the use made of the official majority in the Imperial Council. . . . . .Why should not the Government conciliate public opinion by providing for more adequate safeguards against possible injustice? A judicial touch if given to these proceedings will satisfy the public. . . . . .The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock advanced the orthodox official plea for confidence in the official. No one, we are told, has been interned without sufficient cause. Why should not the Government be trusted? One question is no answer to another question. The fact remains that every unexplained and, therefore, inexplicable internment has added to Indian unrest. If an Indian High Court Judge should be associated with the preliminary enquiry preceding an internment, or if an advisory committee be able to help the Government, public suspicions would be allayed. By refusing this necessary concession

to public demand, the Government of India have displayed a serious lack of imagination."

29. The Hindu, of the 22nd, February, writes:- "The introduction of the Indian Defence Force Bill yesterday in the Imperial Legislative Council by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, marks an important stage in the history of the association of Indians in the Indian Army. The Bill has been welcomed by all shades of opinion in the Council as exemplifying the policy of trust in the sons of the soil which is believed to be underlying the administration of India . . . . The value of the measure lies in the military training that will be given to a large number of educated Indians, he close association in which these will move with their European comrades, and the growth of a sense of responsibility for the defence of the country: that is sure to grow. These in themselves, togeyher with the habit of subjection to military discipline, constitute most important results, and we appeal to Indians of all classes to appreciate the value of the right that always belongs to a self-respecting nation but has till now been denied to Indians. The Bill received very warm support in the Council from non-official Indian representatives, and it would be wrong to throw away an excellent opportunity that has been afforded to Indians to show their loyalty, patriotism and sense of responsibility for the defence of their country. It is regrettable that the Government have not yet recognised the other and perhaps more valued right to

The Indian Defence Force Bill.

hold the highest appointments in the military service; the Indian public have to be satisfied with the assurance contained in the reply which the Commander-in-Chief made to such criticisms when he said that when Indians showed themselves fit for the positions they were aspiring to, the fulfilment of their aspirations would be most favourably considered when the time came."

Writing on this subject in New India, of the 22nd February, Mrs. Annie Besant says:--"The unanimous approval of our representatives in the Supreme Council of the general conditions laid down in the Commander-in-Chief's explanation of the establishment of the Defence of India Force should be sufficient to guide Indians in their reception of the measure. . . . . .To neglect this splendid opportunity would be a disgrace to Indians. It is the beginning of an avenue that leads to the Citizen Army of the future."

The Indian Patriot, of the 22nd February, observes:-"The Imperial Legislative Council yesterday witnessed a rare unanimity among members such as is rarely seen. Indian members expressed their satisfaction that the measure evidenced the policy of trust in the people and replaced the policy of distrust. . . . . As Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu said, this is the greatest step that has been taken since the British came into India, and it might have been greater if it had been taken earlier, at any rate if it had been taken at the beginning of the war. That it has now been taken is evidence of a gratifying change in the angle of vision of our rulers. . . . . The fuller recognition

of Indian military claims, of which several honourable members spoke, is bound to come, and we are sure that it will come. India is nearing the realisation of the claims which it has urged all these years, and it will be due to the generous appreciation of the attitude which we have presented during the war. . . . . Of the moral value of military training and discipline there can be no doubt. It will certainly improve the character of the nation. It is a pity that by keeping out men from the military service, habits of obedience and discipline have not been cultivated by the people as they are cultivated by those among whom military service ~~habits of~~ is natural function of life. It has been a matter for wonder that the entire people of India, excepting some select military classes, have been wholly left without any kind of discipline except what they receive at home and school. The home discipline is entirely lacking in rigour from the point of view of those who look upon military discipline as the highest kind of discipline. . . . . Although Indians have to get much more before they can be regarded as the equals of Europeans, those things which they desire will come in due course when what is describ d as 'the greatest step' by Mr. Basu has been met by us in the spirit of patriotism and loyalty."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

38. Referring to a case in Bengal in which persons were arrested one after another "by mistake"

The Criminal Investigation Department.

and released, the Andhraprakasika, of the 10th February, remarks whether the Criminal Investigation Department is fancying a serpant in a rope.

(d) Education.

42. The Andhrapatrika of the 17th February, says with reference to the meeting held

Students and meetings.

at Nagpur to discuss the proposal to prevent the Central Provinces students from attending public meetings without the permission of their Principals:- Mr. Stanley, the Inspector of Schools, showed his paternal care for the boys when he said that they get spoiled by attending wretched meetings. We wish to know whether he and Sir Benjamin Robertson spent all their time in "The pure atmosphere of education" without going to hear public lectures. Never. The tour of Mr. Tilak in the Central Provinces appears to have upset Sir Benjamin Robertson. That is why he resorted to this perverse policy. Perhape he is applying this remedy under the impression that what suits English boys will bring on indigestion in Indian boys. Under the new order of Sir Benjamin Robertson, the students will be prevented not only from attending lectures of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Wadia, but they will also not be allowed to attend the lectures of such patriotic moderates as Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia and Babu Surendranath Banerji. Or, will the Government of the Central Provinces send a list of good and bad men for the information of the Principals. . . . . If Sir Benjamin Robertson's object is to be accomplished, a spy for every house is not enough. Where is there money to maintain so many spies? We regret that Sir Benjamin Robertson is labouring under a delusion.

(k) General.

51. The Swadesamitran, of the 31st January, publishes at length the proceedings of the meeting held on the 30th idem in the Young Men's Christian Association buildings under the presidency of the Lord Bishop of Madras to protest against the emigration of coolies under the indentured labour system, and in this connection, gives in Tamil what purport to be translations of the several speeches made at that meeting.

Public meeting on Indentured labour.

52. Referring to the statement of Mr. C.F. Andrews regarding the continuation of the indentured labour system in the Fiji island for another five years, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd February, writes:- From the letter written by Mr. Bonar Law, when he was the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to this island, we will quote the portion which relates to this matter: "I have appointed a committee to advise me as to what system may be employed in the place of the indentured labour system. Apart from this, I have suggested that this system may remain in force for another five years, and can be stopped at the end of it." The Hindu says that this letter shows that the India Office has given its consent to the above suggestion. However, it cannot be said that the final sanction has been obtained for it. It is necessary for us to know whether the India Office has stated that it would communicate the proposal to the Government of India and ontain its consent, or what it is to which

What is to be the end of the indentured labour system?

consent has been given and under what conditions. We would urge that our representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council should, by interpellations, try to make public the intentions of the Government of India in this matter. We have, on several previous occasions, written against the indentured labour system and adduced arguments for its being put an end to.

The public meeting in Poona on indentured coolies.

53. The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd February, publishes a telegraphic report, dated the 1st idem, of a public meeting held at Poona under the auspices of the Poona District Congress Committee which contains the following:- "Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, who presided over the meeting, explained the way in which coolies sent from here to foreign countries under the system of indentured labour suffer great hardships there. Following him, Mr. Andrews moved the resolution that the Government be requested to put an end to this system, and, in doing so, spoke vigourously on its evils. Then Mr. Tilak, who said that these coolies are treated worse than slaves, spoke as follows:- Even slaves are not allowed to err in their conduct. We should not remain looking on when the Indian coolies are thus being sent to foreign countries under this system. Young men should form themselves into bands, go to every depot which collects and despatches indentured coolies to foreign countries, and take all possible efforts to save them from leading sorrowful and shameless lives. If we are prepared to undergo the punishments that may be inflicted upon us for transgressing the law, even the acts that we may do by such transgression for the purpose of preventing indentured coolies from leaving India, will now be justifiable. The resolution was unanimously passed after further speeches in support of it by Mr. Paranjype and Mr. Karandikar.

54. In its leader under this heading, the Andhraprakasika, of the 14th February, onserves:-

The lot of indentured labourers.

We represent that it is highly desirable that the Government of India do immediately obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, put a stop to this system of labour and recall the emigrant coolies from the Colonies as otherwise the Indians will have ample grounds to suspect that the Government of India is indifferent to this matter. . . . . .The speech of Lord Chelmsford on this subject has caused deep disappointment to India. . . . . .If the Government of India chooses to put an end to this evil practice, much effort is not needed. We cannot understand why they waver so much. If Government cannot interfere in this matter, the people may feel helpless, grow desperate, and take to all sorts of ways to remove these evils. We therefore humbly represent that it is highly incumbent on Government to pay immediate attention to this matter.

56. Under this heading the Kistnapatrika, of the 10th February, publishes a Telugu version of the stirring speech of Mrs. Sarojini Devi, portions of which have been abstracted from the Desamata above.

The slavery of Indian women in the Fiji islands.

57. In an article under this head, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st February, writes:- The planters of Ceylon are in the habit of giving themselves credit for adopting a system of labour which gives freedom

Advancing money to the coolies.

of action to the coolies, whereas, in the other Colonies, the indentured labour system is in vogue. But in reality the lot of the Indian coolie in Ceylon amounts to the same thing as that of the coolie in other Colonies who has, subject to certain conditions, entered into a contract for five years, for the contract at any rate affords relief at the end of five years; but when can the independent coolie in Ceylon hope to disencumber himself of the debt due by him in the shape of advances received from the kanganis for meeting the expenses of his voyage, etc. He can only change his place of work from one planter to another by means of a transfer of his debt. This system results in several hardships to all concerned, and as there is an increasing demand for coolies, the competition for securing them becomes very keen among the planters. With a view to remove this state of things, the planters came to an understanding among themselves and resolved to stop entirely, by the aid of legislation, the practice of advancing money for the coolies. When this resolve came to the knowledge of the owners of plantations living in London, they wired to the planters in Ceylon advising them that advancing money to the coolies was the best system and that, if it should be stopped, it would be hard to secure coolies; and, on the 15th December last, held a meeting in London to discuss this matter in detail. The proceedings of that meeting would seem to imply that the law is good so long as it is binding on the coolies, but that when it proceeds to bind the planters, it should be condemned. Sir Thomas North

Christie, who presided over that meeting, observed that staying away from work and other faults committed by the coolies should be regarded as criminal offences, because of the difficulty of tracing their whereabouts, if they had to be tried by the Civil Courts. He then turned upon Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and said that, so long as he was in the service of the Government, he discharged his duties well, but that he was becoming an agitator after leaving the service, as he is said to have expressed on one occasion that the system of labour adopted in Ceylon was like organised slavery. It is long since Sir Thomas Christie left Ceylon, but Sir Ponnambalam still lives there. Why should not the former believe that things there are now as described by Sir. Ponnambalam? It is only as a result of the growing competition among the planters that the lot of the coolies has become serious. In the Malay States, the Government collects a tax from the planters and from this amount meets the expenses of the voyage, etc., and takes the coolies to the plantations; and there is no necessity, therefore, for the coolie to be indebted to anyone there. But Sir Thomas feels sorry that the coolies run away frequently. They go only from one plantation to another. Is it not possible to prevent them from doing so by paying good wages affording facilities, and treating them well? It is true that this would be an additional expense to the planters. It is indeed sweet to make large profits by extracting hard work from the coolies from morning to evening. But this can no longer be possible. Though Sir Thomas Christie and his associates

have praised the poor coolies in the end as being respectable, we must confess that they have not understood the trend of affairs at the present time.

The condition of the Indian coolies in the plantations.

58. Adverting to a statement said to have been made by a European planter in India that Rs.2/- per mensem would be ample means of livelihood for an Indian cooly, in the case of a male, and Rs.1-8-0 in the case of a female, the Hindu Nesan, of the 3rd February, says:- What are we to say of this pitiable plight? If the monthly cost of living is taken to be Rs.4, the daily cost comes to As. 2. But the scale laid down by the European Planter works out at one anna and odd. The women have to be content with even less. When this is the situation, the cry of some English papers that India is a very prosperous country shows only their ignorance.

The pitiable condition of the coolies in Ceylon.

59. Referring to a case, which was conducted in the Kandy Police Court on the 2nd February 1917, in which a native of the Malay States was charged with having kept in confinement two coolies, who had run away from a plantation, and having robbed them of their money before releasing them, the Swadesamitran, of the 14th February, says:- What an injustice it is for coolies to be kept in confinement by any and every one while it is argued by many that it is illegal to treat desertion from work as a criminal offence! This case was brought up, because the Malay refused to give up the coolies unless he was paid some amount. The Superintendent of the Plantation sent

a wire to him to keep the coolies in custody till the kanganies came to fetch them. The planters are said to publish in the newspapers the desertion of coolies and offer rewards to those who would arrest them and hand them over to the planters. The powers of the Police would seem to descend into the hands of every one in Ceylon. Slaves received such a treatment in the past. The "independent coolies" of Ceylon are having a taste of it at the present time.

60. The Swadesamitran, of the 31st January, says that the replies given by Sir James Meston

The Round Table.

Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, to the questions asked in the Legislative Council of these provinces regarding the letter of Mr. Lionel Curtis of the Round Table on the future administrative policy of India, have been briefly communicated by the Associated Press, and publishes the replies as they appear more fully in New India.

61. The Hindu Nesan, of the 6th February, reports the Englishman to have written as follows

India and the Round Table.

about the activities of the Round Table regarding India:- As far as we know, this association does not intend to make India a slave of the colonies. No responsible person in India or Great Britain can entertain such an idea. Our wish is that no other country than Great Britain should have the power of exercising control over and reforming the Government of India. It is really surprising that the aims of the British colonies about India are quite contrary to our view and it shows only

their ignorance. We can see it clearly from the mischief they are making in connection with the system of indentured labour. They consider their welfare to be all importants. We cannot easily refute their privileges, unless they are prevented from recruiting coolies in India.

Mr. Curtis.

Referring to questions and answers in the Imperial Legislative Council anent the Round Table and Mr. Curtis, the Andhrapatrika, of the 17th February, says:- The Government of India said that they knew nothing about the Round Table and its meetings. Many of the members of the Government of India have extended hospitality to Mr. Curtis. They are not unaware of the object of his tour and the work he is doing. To render help secretly and to say, when the matter is moved in the Legislative Council, that the Government know nothing about it, is very curious.

The Defence of India Act.

63. A correspondent of the Hindu Nesan, of the 2nd February, refers to the statements said to have been made by Lord Carmichael in December last that the extensive application of this Act in Bengal was justified by the existence of a strong conspiracy there to subvert the British Government and remarks:- It is strange that Lord Carmichael, who has been favourable to the Indians in several ways, should have spoken like this contrary to public opinion. However good one may be, it is perhaps hard for one to get rid of the association of power! There have been many riots and

disturbances in England in past centuries for the benefit of the public and for bringing about administrative reforms. When all these were considered there to be the outcome of legitimate patriotism, it is a onesided conclusion to deem such events in India, however trifling they may be, to be the outcome of sedition.

He then gives instances of eminent people being watched by the Criminal Investigation Department in India unnecessarily and of the conclusions of the Criminal Investigation Department being proved to be incorrect by judges, and adds:- In fine, the secret enquiry and proceedings of the Criminal Investigation Department men almost always end in nothing. One result of it is that the people have no peace of mind. They are ever in danger. This Criminal Investigation Department service costs thousands of rupees a month. Under these circumstances, Lord Carmichael to support of the Defence of India Act, its aims and objects and the officials who handle it, and his call for the sympathy and assistance of the people appear indeed to be highly philosophical. Though these legal proceedings will not in the least be approved in the western countries, they may be quite possible in India in the present condition. But those, who are well conversant with history of countries, cannot fail to note that times are changing.

64. Prohibition of Mr.B.P. Wadia's letter on 'Home Rule'. (Third Para.)

Referring to the order of prohibition issued to Mr. B.P. Wadia by the Madras Government in connection with his proposed lecture on Swaraj in the Young Men Indian Association Buildings on the evening of the 2nd February 1917, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd February,

makes the following remarks:- The steps taken by the Madras Government in this matter have caused us great surprise and regret. We do not seem any reason or necessity for the Government to exercise its powers under the Defence of India Act. We cannot say that, in connection with the war, any urgency or danger is likely to arise at present in this city, or great agitation and disturbance are likely to be experienced in its political condition. When the Government of the Central Provinces gave out that Mr. Wadia's lecture ~~as~~ at Amraoti had a tendency to create excitement and disloyalty in the public mind, Mr. Wadia made known his wish to repeat the lecture in order that he might show that there was no room for such objections in it and that he was perfectly loyal. It was, therefore, desirable for the Government to have pointed out to him the objectionable features in the lecture. If great excitement should be caused in the public mind, there is room for its being attributed not to the lecture, but to the order of prohibition issued by the Government.

65. Under this head "Officials and politics" the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd February, writes:-

Officials and politics.

In reply to the question asked by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani in a meeting of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces, as to whether some of the higher officers of Government were not members of political institutions such as the Anglo-Indian Association, the Government replied that it was not aware of it; but it stated subsequently in reply to another question,

that Sir George Knox, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, was indeed the President of the Anglo-Indian Association. Again, in reply to the question whether that association was not a political body, the Government said that it required time to give a reply. We believe that the Honourable Member would again interpellate on that subject at the next meeting of the Legislative Council. The Message writes that, as it transpires that certain higher officers of the Bombay Presidency are connected with the political institutions there, questions should be asked about it in the Bombay Legislative Council. It may be said that a warning is afforded now to those higher officers of the other Provinces who may be connected with political associations. The Capital writes on this subject, The Bombay Chronicle has won its object after its repeated cries of protest. That paper has made the Government of India issue an order that in future Government officers should not be members of the Round Table. There is no doubt that the Viceroy, the Governors, the Lieutenant-Governors, the Chief Commissioners and others, whom Mr. Curtis visited, all received him well, and it will not be too much to say that they showed sympathy with the work he has set to himself, Lord Chelmsford and Lord Carmichael may indeed have been slightly acquainted with the philanthropie work undertaken by Mr. Curtis; but Sir James Meston and Mr. Morris were not so. They had known him in South Africa. It has become a new practice with the Viceroy, Governors and others to give splendid entertainments to the correspondents who visit India for the benefit of petty journals published in

England, America, Japan and other countries. This practice was inaugurated by Lord Curzon. He had ~~to be-seen-hereafter-whether-this-mistake-of-the~~ a great liking for Sir Valentine Chirol and Mr. L. Fraser. It has to be seen hereafter whether this mistake of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces will make the heads of other provinces careful in moving with itinerant panegyrists like Sir Valentine Chirol ~~Chril~~ and and Mr. Lionel Curtis.

The Report of the Public Services Commission.

67. The Hindu Nesan, of the 3rd February, characterises the recommendations contained in this report about the Police department as curious ones and observes:- The Commission has recommended that the number of Indians in the Police Service should be even less than that proposed by it for the Indian Civil Service without however assigning proper reasons for this conclusion. Evidently it considers the Police Service to be even more important than the Civil Service. The fact that it is of opinion that not more than 10 per cent of the appointments in the Police Service should go to the Indians, while it is prepared to give 25 per cent of those in the Civil Service to them shows that it entertains the wrong notion that men for the majority of the appointments in the Police department should be recruited direct from England. The Commission is of course prepared to abolish the rule which obtained till now that only Englishmen can appear for the competitive examination held in England for admission into the Police Service here. But it it appears that Indians, who compete for this examination

should have studied in England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland for five years before the date of the examination. When even those appearing for the Civil Service, law or medical examinations in England do not stay there for five years, will Indian youths care to study in England for this period for the purpose of appearing for the competitive examination held for the Indian Public Service? It looks as if the Commission has made this recommendation knowing full well that the Indians will not be prepared to observe this rule. Having thus made it practically impossible for Indians to get the higher appointments in the Police Service by passing the competitive examination in England, the Commission has suggested that some Indians can be directly nominated to the higher appointments in this service in India alone. But it is very careful even here and will have Indians only for 10 per cent of the appointments. We are however glad that the Commission has recommended the promotion of Indians in the subordinate ranks of this department, to the higher appointments and the nomination of Indians to 5 per cent of the District Superintendentships. But it has declared that the Indian Deputy Superintendents recruited in India will not rank equally with the Assistant Superintendents recruited in England. It is really strange that while no difference is made between Civilians recruited in England and those recruited in India, Police officials recruited in India should be given a different treatment from that given to those recruited in England. Perhaps it is the dolls of the higher Police officials that are supporting the tower of British rule in India!

Referring to the report generally, the Hindu Nesan of the 3rd February, writes again:- Our friends are aware that this report has not been received well by the Indians and that it is criticised on the ground that the recommendations made therein are retrograde in character. We may expect that it will be criticised openly throughout India. The Amrita Bazaar Patrika remarked that Madras was the first in the field to criticise this report. But Madura has left even Madras behind in this matter; for a public meeting was held there on 31st January and a resolution passed to the effect that the recommendations made in the report with great wavering which did not fulfil the aspirations of the Indians, were very disappointing and that the British Government and the Government of India should not base the reforms, which have now become necessary, on these recommendations.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 7th February, reproduces the following comments of the Swadesaparipalini on this subject, which characterises Sir Valentine Chirol, one of the members of the Commission, as one who is regarded by the popular leaders in India as a born antagonist to her progress:- We have not heard of or seen another Commission which has caused so much of dissatisfaction to the Indians as this Commission. We feel with regret that public money and the time and labour of the popular leaders have been wasted in vain. The Indians are bound to feel ever grateful to Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim for his courage and patriotism. Who will not be struck at the independence with which he has put in a dissenting minute,

in spite of the fact that he is an official? Mr. Chaubal, though an India, has agreed with the views of Englishmen. Coming to the report of the Commission, its conclusions cannot in the least satisfy the people. It has all along been our desire that the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination should be held simultaneously both in England and India. But this Commission has recommended that a separate examination should be held in India for which young graduates between 20 and 22 years can appear and that the first seven of these who pass in this examination should be sent to England and made to appear for another examination should be sent to England and made to appear for another examination there after studying in a prescribed University for three years. We are not at all satisfied with this recommendation. According to the present system Indian students have to get through only one examination in England after passing the B.A., examination here. But, under the new system proposed by the Commission, they have to pass an additional examination in India after their B.A. examination and thus the improvement in their position can be said to be from the frying pan into the fire. We do not know how far this recommendation can be said to be reasonable. Apart from the objection that can be taken to many another recommendations of this Commission, the Indians are bound to express their disapproval openly of its view that the efficiency of the administration in India requires that the British element should preponderate in every service. We should deem this pronouncement to be an insult to our loyalty and the education we have had till now.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 15th February, has a cartoon representing Lord Islington and India with the following thereunder:-

The Public Services Commission.

India--Lord Islington! We thought you were digging for gold. Is it only to catch a rat that you dug the mountain? Lord Islington--Rest satisfied with this. Don't trouble yourself about the future (The work of the Public Services Commission which spent so much, toured about such a large country and took so much pains, is like digging a mountain to catch a rat.)

70. The following is an extract from the lecture delivered by Mr. N.K. Ramaswami Ayyar on the 28th January last under the auspices of the Home Rule League at Tanjore, as reproduced by the Swadesamitran, of the 1st February:- It was laid down in 1906, by Mr. Dhadhaboy Naoroji, the grand old Indian patriot, that Home Rule should be our goal and the Congress held that year passed four resolutions supporting the demand for Home Rule, the boycott of foreign goods, the strengthening of the swadesi movement and national education. In spite of the pronouncement of Mr. Tilak in 1907 that our objective should be the acquisition of Home Rule for India like that demanded for Ireland, the Congress held in Surat that year neglected the resolutions passed in the previous Congress, and there was a split in the camp. Then the authorities won over those who were known as the moderates, even as they had gained over the Muhammadans, and for about ten years, the ideals of the nationalists

The importance of the last Congress.

could not be achieved. However, the swaraj Congress met at Lucknow in December last and the representatives of all the parties attended it. Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak received a hearty ovation from those assembled and the reference by the President to the meeting of all parties in this session was hailed by all. We (nationalists) did not however approve of the statement by him that we should "advance step by step". But we were prepared for such a statement. He was again not right in referring to the caste distinction among the Hindus. I will say to all that the principle of the caste system is the basis of all ideals of unity. . . . . It is really surprising that the resolution proposed by Mr. Tilak suggesting that step should be taken to spread the knowledge about Home Rule among the people was thrown out by the subjects committee. The advantages gained by the nationalists in the last Congress are:-

1. The conclusion come to by those assembled that Royal Communique should be issued that India would be granted Home Rule and that she has an equal status with other parts in the British Empire.

2. The recognition of the Home Rule Leagues by the Congress.

3. The approval by the Congress of the resolutions passed by the all-India Muslim League and the all-India Congress Committee.

71. Referring to this subject, the Hindu Nesan, of the 1st February, writes:-

India's demands.

From the very fact that about 4,000 people assembled to hear the address of Pandit Malaviya on the 31st ultimo in Madras, we can form an idea of the value the public attach to his opinions.

He gave a testimonial to that great soul and prophet, Lord Sydenham, for his views by declaring as false all that he, entirely forgetting that he had eaten the salt of India, ventured to write in the "Nineteenth Century" to the effect that the proposals containing a memorandum of reforms signed by nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council should be set aside. It is only men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that are fit to oppose strongly the views of Lord Sydenham. Pandit Malaviya laid stress on the fact that the Indians did not agitate for the immediate grant of Home Rule, but they only wished to prepare themselves for it. Regarding the Public Services Commission, he said that it was impossible to express an opinion on it in mild language and that it caused great distress to India. On whatever other subjects Pandit Malaviya might or might not have spoken, we appreciate his having condemned the views of Lord Sydenham.

The uplifting of the depressed classes.

78. A correspondent by name Mr. R. Krishnama Achariyar, who claims special knowledge of the condition of the depressed classes in this Presidency, refers to the appointment of a special officer by the Government to study their condition and suggest means of improving it and observes as follows in the course of an article in the Hindu Nesan, of the 9th February, which looks to be the first of a series of articles on this subject:- Some ryots have a wrong impression that, if necessary steps are taken for improving the condition of these classes, they will not obey them and do their work properly. From my personal knowledge, I can say that, if proper facilities are offered for these classes to improve their condition,

education and means of living, they will not only be more faithful and earnest in their work to their present masters, but will also refrain from being cajoled by the sweet words of the kanganis and allured to Ceylon and other countries. Now coming to the means of improving their condition, the first is in reference to their habitations. In this respect there is much difference between districts abounding in dry lands and those abounding in wet lands like Tanjore. In the former, sufficient space is available for their habitations. But in the latter, they have to live in huts put up in the midst of wet lands. Apart from the difficulty of access to these huts especially in the rainy season, there is also the serious danger of those living therein of catching malarial contagion, on account of their being surrounded by wet cultivation for six months in the year. So it will be convenient, if they are permitted to put up their huts in broad sites above the level of the adjacent lands. It may be that such sites are not available in the Tanjore District and there are not even sufficient poramboke lands in this district to be used for this purpose. So I would suggest that the Tanjore District Board, which is far richer than the other district boards, should try the experiment of purchasing sites for the depressed classes in specified localities, dividing them into blocks and allowing these classes to construct houses on such sites on payment of a small rent. The district board will thereby be not only getting interest on the amount thus spent but also be doing good to the depressed classes. If this experimental move proves to be a desirable one by experience, it can be copied in all places. This is one way of improving their condition.)

79. The following is an extract from an article in the Swadesaparipalini

England and India.

reproduced by the Hindu Nesan, of the 9th February:- In our article on the report of the Public Services Commission, we said that its recommendations would not satisfy the Indians in the least. The important point to be noted by us here is that this Commission was established by the Government before the war began. The Indians think that the loyalty shown by them after the beginning of the war, which has been demonstrated on the battle-field, entitles them to obtain some new privileges from the British. The British Ministers and Indian representatives have, on several occasions, admitted that we are justified in thinking so. Nevertheless, the Government should have openly notified whether it now intends to grant greater privileges than those which have been recommended by the report of the Commission just published. If it had done so, the public could have been satisfied without caring for this report. It is the absence of such a notification that has caused dissatisfaction. Still, the fact that Indian representatives have been invited to the war council to be held soon makes us believe that some new privileges will be granted to us. We had found fault with Mr. Lloyd George that, in his first speech after he took charge as Prime Minister, he did not refer to the services rendered by India in the war. It is to correct this fault that we have been given the privilege of

nominating our representatives to the War Council. It is indeed an honour to India. But we anxiously wait to know how much our country will be benefited by this.

82. Referring to the lecture on "Our Demands" delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in Madras on the 31st January 1917, the substance of which is published elsewhere in the same issue, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st February, writes in its leading article as follows:- He condemned in clear terms the action of several Englishmen who hold high offices in the executive administration of the country, in encouraging and even rendering the necessary aid to the evil endeavours made by certain English papers, great men and travellers, in a manner prejudicial to our interests and to the effect that no reform is made in our condition and that our country is subjected to the control of the Colonies. Also, certain Anglo-Indian papers in our country, which have received the support of our people in many ways, have published the reports of their correspondents stating that the extremist party have got possession of the Congress at Lucknow, and have made their influence supreme in that body; and these papers have further caused the same to be published in the Times and other papers in London which are opposed to our wishes. Of those Englishmen that pose themselves to be interested in the affairs of India, one, who is so retrograde in his views as Lord Sydenham can rarely be found. The greatness belongs to him of objecting to the most modest of our demands. Even Lord Islington, who presided over the Public Services Commission and declared that the Anglo-Indians should preponderate in the

The reforms in the Imperial constitution and our condition.

executive administration of the country for the sake of the responsibility vested in the British rule, who is now the Under Secretary of State for India, and who does not hold the liberal views advocated by Mr. Roberts, his predecessor in office, is not altogether so bad. It is not possible for us sufficiently to condemn those who wish and are making efforts to lower the condition of India in constitution and organization of the Empire. The London Times states that the Government of India has itself recognised the necessity for certain reforms in the internal administration of the country, and submitted recommendations to that effect to the Secretary of State, and at this juncture, the Imperial Government should give due consideration to the memorandum of reforms submitted by the non-official members of Imperial Legislative Council. Lord Islington has said that India should be raised to an equal status with the other countries during the Imperial Conference, as, in his opinion, it would be wrong even twenty years ago to have regarded India as a dependency looking up to a few English officers for its Government without making any progress. It is highly necessary, therefore, that the political feelings now throbbing in the hearts of the Indians should be taken note of. To treat India and the Colonies differently in the Imperial Conference will not redound to the credit of anyone.

In a leader under this head, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th February, writes:-

The reforms in the Imperial constitution and our condition.

A telegram dated London, 15th January 1917, published in the Australian papers, states that Mr. Lloyd George has appointed Mr. Kerr, the editor of the organ of the Round Table and co-worker with Mr. Curtis, to work under his direct supervision. It will therefore be necessary for us to make great endeavours to see that the Prime Minister does not give room for the degrading views of this party with regard to Indian aspirations. According to the views of the members of the Round Table, the underlying principle of the British Empire is the Commonwealth. It is opposed to this principle that the people of one country should conquer those of another country, or one section should rule over another and carry on the administration. The British rule, which regards it as its duty to safeguard the rights of the people and the right of self-government, is in direct contradiction to the policy of one country subjugating and exercising Government over another. Therefore the British Empire may well be taken to be a democracy, and this alone is the best instrument for putting down warfare in the world. It has been urged that the self-governing colonies, which now conduct their internal administration only, should in future exercise authority in all matters, both external and internal, in an equal degree and conjointly with England, and that the constitution of the Government should be reformed with this end in view. Without realising that the system of self-government known as the Commonwealth, which is found in the English constitution, should be given to India, the party of the

Round Table deliver lectures extensively on self-government, but are indeed considering about leaving the land of our birth out of account on the plea that self-government is not now suited to India and its people. These facts have been disclosed not only by the letter of Mr. Curtis, but are found in the books already published by the said party. We quote below an important sentence from one of thse books on this subject: "In all the regions of the world where (British) self-government is established, the work of administration belongs exclusively to the European races, who form a minority. For, of all the (British) subjects at the present time, it is only this minority that is capable of carrying on that work." What advantages can we ~~exe/pe~~ expect from the members of the Round Table who hold such views, and how can we accept the services of their representatives?

83. The Swadesamitran, of the 5th February, publishes ~~is~~ a report of the proceedings

The Anti-Indenture League.

of a meeting of this League held on the 4th idem in the residence of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar, in which after the President explained the objects of the meeting, eight resolutions were passed unanimously, six of which relate to the formation of an association under the name of the "Anti-Indenture League" and to its constitution and working. The seventh resolution is said to refer to the publication, as early as possible, of the report furnished by Messrs. C.F. Adrews and Pearson on their inquiry into the indentured labour, while the eighth is for publishing and distributing widely notices in English and the Vernaculars warning the people in the villages against emigration to foreign countries. The paper

also publishes a notice, which was approved at the meeting, detailing the hardships experienced by the coolies in Fiji Trinidad and other islands, and the immoral connections prevailing there, and cautioning the villagers against falling into the snare of the recruiters.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th February, says:-

Indentured labour.

The very mention of indentured labour sends a thrill of anger through the body. The announcement by the Viceroy that the system will continue for some time more adds insult to injury. The whole country clambours for the abolition of that unjust system. When the Madras Mail also demands its abolition, we can form an idea as to how the good-hearted English people also think about it. The fact that the speakers in yesterday's meeting at the Gokhale Hall forgot all laws regulating public meetings and the defence of the country when they spoke on the subject, shows how indignant the Indians are. The fact that such an old gentleman as Sir S. Subramanya Ayyar spoke there emphatically about this inhuman system indicates the provoked state of mind of even old men. Even women ignorant of the English language have been agitated at the meeting. A Muhammadan said that if His Excellency the Viceroy should be in the position of the Fiji coolies, he could easily understand their grievances. We once again pray that Lord Chelmsford may soon appease this far-reaching unrest in minds of the people.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th February, reports the proceedings of the meeting held in Madras on the subject of indentured labour and gives a summary of the speeches of Sir S. Subramanya Ayyar and others.

Indentured labour.

89. Referring to the proposal of His Excellency the Viceroy to raise an Indian Volunteer Corps, the Andhraprakasika, of the 10th February, says:- The odium that the Indians who are the descendants of heroes, are not fit to be enrolled as Volunteers, is now removed. Although some small difference may be made between Indians and white men admitted into the corps, we must not mind it. The rulers have to get much money for the war, and we cannot ask for adequate remuneration. The Government will not be accused of partiality if white soldiers are paid only as much as our soldiers. Some money also will thus be saved, which may be utilised for war.. . . . . We have a request to make to the Indians. We complained that we were refused admission into the Volunteer corps. The Government now ask us to come. The time has come. It is not manly to hesitate.

"Our desire has been granted."

92. The Andhrapatrika, of the 15th February, says in its leader:- If England has implicit faith in the Indians, our representatives will assure her in the forthcoming Imperial Conference that she may train and take lakhs of soldiers from India and that India has the strength to destroy the enemy.

The Imperial Conference.

But we cannot say whether the rulers will adopt this easy method or not. They want to use all the man-power in England, and they cannot but turn to India if that is not enough.

If under a settlement the territories occupied by the Germans are taken back, it will be a danger to permanent peace not to give their Colonies back to them. Statesmanship requires that the Germans should not, after the close of the war, have any cause for heart-burning and be made to prepare for another war. This is why we fear the English merchantsspeaking of a trade war make up the loss that may ensue to India if their idea is carried out? Germany purchased in 1913-14 goods worth Rs.26,35,57,710 from India. Who will make up this loss in the trade/ war that is to follow this war? In that same year, she sent goods valued at Rs.12,66,57,930 to India. Who is there to sell things to India so cheaply? It will be well if those who cry "trade war" remember all this. Our representatives have to tell the liberal-hearted men in the Imperial Conference that it is not proper to contemplate this trade war for reasons political and economical, and show them how the free trade policy of England has ruined India. India wants, like the Colonies, full liberty to choose markets where she can buy and sell at a profit. She also desires to be protected from foreign competition in the matter of industries which she can establish in her own land. Such a privilege has been granted to the Colonies long ago. India wants the privilege of levying duties on foreign goods in a way that is favourable to her. The Colonies enjoy this privilege already. Mr. Jinna suggested at

Lucknow that it is the desire of the Muhammadans that the honour which the Sultan of Turkey enjoyed of being their religious head, should remain his as ever. This is a very delicate problem and it is to be seen how our rulers are going to solve it.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th February, says:-

The Imperial Conference. If India which contains more than a third of the population of the Empire be removed, this Empire will not deserve to be called a great Empire, tThe British Ministers considered the help rendered by India and invited her to the Imperial Conference. But they have not given us the same privileges as they gave to the Colonies. Our representatives have been reckoned as assistants and this difference of treatment should in future come to an end. While foreigners may come and dwell here and earn money, it is considered a sin on our part even to enter the Colonies. This racial pride should vanish and India should have self-government before there can be brotherhood among the people in the empire. Unless the stain that we are an inferior race is removed and we are placed on an equal footing with others, we cannot hope to have the regard and respect that we deserve. We do not desire a swaraj that is independent of any connection with England. What we want is the liberty to administer our own affairs in the country to our advantage under the British standard. Our elders say that the memorandum submitted by the 19 members of the Imperial Council will tale us half way to the goal of swaraj. The Congress and the Moslem League fully approved of the memorandum. . . . . .It is doubtful if England

can send an army to protect India and the Colonies for 10 or 15 tears to come. It is enough if the Colonies defend themselves. India has China and Japan this side and Turkey, Russia and Germany that side. Unless India maintains an army four times as strong as these countries, she cannot defend herself. She is too poor to maintain a big British army1 There is therefore fore no choice but to raise a big Indian army with the necessary Indian Military Officers. The time is approaching when India which is surrounded by the sea on three sides, should construct her own warships. Funds should be made available for the army and the navy by means of internal reforms, by the promotion of industries and by developing the resources of the country for the benefit of the country. India pays 45 crores of rupees annually to England, which persons like Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji call a "drain". It means that that sum is leaving us without any corresponding benefit to us. This has to be reduced. There is no other country in the world poorer than India. No other country pays so much to its officers in the shape of salaries and pensions. These items have to be reduced and Indians appointed on lower salaries. If the rulers and ourselves work as indicated above after the war, funds will be forthcoming for the spread of education, and for the improvement of sanitation. The people will have enough to eat. India will have an army and a navy. She will have swaraj. There will be greater loyalty and India by herself will defend the British Empire against the world. The British Empire will last for ever and secure the peace of the world.

93. The Andhrapatrika, of the 15th February, says:-

Ravings of a madman.

He who reads the leader in the Calcutta Statesman will surely think that it was written by a mad man. It says that the arguments of the 19 members of the Imperial Legislative Council who desired political reforms and of those agitating for swaraj are ignorant tricks, that they do not know why the present war is waged and that the only loss they realise from the war is that due to an increase in the price of sugar . . . . .It also says that the Home Rule agitation leads young men to the commission of offences, that people are charmed by sweet words like Home Rule. The writer asks how India containing crores of people who are illiterate with the higher classes devouring the lower like locusts, and with caste differences and oppression, can get swaraj. He says that the 19 representatives signed their memorandum one following the other without understanding it, and characterises it as a wicked one. We do not mean to comment on these remarks, for he who answers one mad man must be another mad man. But we request Lord Chelmsford to resign his office and to confer it on the editor of the Statesman. Mrs. Besant will then go to the jail. The 19 members of the Legislative Councils will be interned. The Imperial and the local Legislative Councils will be discontinued. The Indian papers can be suppressed. All the people between the Himalayas and the Cape Comorin will read the Statesman, the Pioneer and the Madras Mail and ~~the Cape Comorin will read the Statesmen~~ be full of love for the country and for the King. The boys treading the wrong path will be drawn into the right one, or their colleges and High schools may be closed and they required to take to cultivation. When the Statesman's reforms are carried out in this manner before the close

of the war, His Majesty King George V will not like to rule India which is not administered in accordance with the pledges of his predecessors, and then the editor of the Statesman may crown himself.

95. The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th February, says:-

Indian Volunteers.

The British rulers have done us many good things but they have not enabled the Indians to join the army as the English. This is a great defect in their administration. If they had collected ten or twenty lakhs of soldiers in this country at the commencement of the war, this war would have ended long ago. They have been from the very beginning looking on us with suspicion in the matter of Military service. Lord Hardinge brought credit to India by sending to the war front three lakhs of Indian soldiers. In the days when there were no army and ammunition in India, the people have been quite loyal, and the newspapers and the peoples' leaders helped the Government. The Government have ordered that the English people in India should undergo training and take the place of the ~~Terrutiruaksm-wgi-wukk-ve-sebt-ti-tge~~ Territorials, who will be sent to the war front. These Englishmen will defend the forts in India and will not be sent to the war. Their going or not going may depend on how long the war may continue. In England, Indian students were admitted into the army as soldiers, but they had not the honour of being appointed as military officers on account of race differences. The Times of India referred to this distinction as improper. The day on which His Excellency the Viceroy said that the Government would enlist Indians as volunteers will be considered an auspicious day in the history of the Brittish

rule. He said that he would admit as volunteers as many Indians as could be trained. The request that the Congress has been making for thirty years past has now been granted. Although the terms offered may not be liberal, yet we exhort that our country men should join the corps in thousands. This opportunity may not offer itself once again. We are to receive training, which will improve our health. The odium that we are the ruled will be removed to some extent. Take the opportunity and worship the mother.

97. The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th February, says:-

Controversial question.

The arrangement come to between the officials and the non-officials that the discussion of all questions of a controversial nature should be avoided during the war was impossible of being carried out. The Civil Service Bill introduced into the Parliament had to be subjected to severe criticism in this country. The sad plight of youngmen interned evey day under the Defence Act is paining the hearts of the public. The Press Act is working havoc freely. The conduct of "Ondia's friends" like Sir Valentine Chirol who is receiving the hospitality of Government houses and has proved unfaithful to India has caused unrest in the country. The letter of Mr. Curtis has added insult to injury. Its contents have greatly incensed the people. The report of the Public Services Commission has fanned the fire. The report which deserves to be shelved in some British Museum is unsuited to the times and the recommendations therein contained created disgust. But our misfortune did not end there. The

speech of His Excellency the Viceroy aboyt indentured labour has shaken the country from one side to the other with indignation. Hundreds of meetings pray for its abolition. No other question has of late cropped up which created so much indignation and sorrow.

100. The Andhrapatrika, of the 19th February, says:-

Mr. Tilak and passive resistance.

Mr. Gandhi has said that when national honour is entirely at stake and we cannot raise our heads out of shame, we can use the weapon of passive resistance. Mr. Tilak told us that if our Government do not heed our prayers, we have ourselves to obstruct the work of agents recruiting coolies, and that if in doing so, we have to violate laws, we must be prepared to meet the punishment that may follow such violation. To suffer such punishment quietly is passive resistance. Mr. Tilak spoke out his mind boldly. But there is no need to go so far. We trust that Lord Chelmsford will soon stop this recruitment.

102. The Andhrapatrika, of the 19th February, refers to

Enquiry into the causes of anarchy.

the rejection of the resolution requesting the Government of India to appoint a committee to enquire into the causes of anarchy in India and says:- If the authorities had to be benefited by the enquiry, they would not have rejected the resolution.. Mr. Dadabhoy appears to have resorted to this contrivance of a resolution.--~~Mr.-Dadabhoy-appears-to-have-resorted-to-this contrivance-of-a-resolution~~ in order to publish to the world that the Government are making too much of little things. We believe that the authorities have quietly hushed up, the matter without giving publicity to this secret.

105. The Andhrapatrika, of the 21st February, says:-

Aspiration of the Indians. Lord Dalhousie and John Bright said that if Indian administration should be efficient there should be a diminishing of central authority and an extension of provincial autonomy and local self-government. This idea/ has been made clear in 1912, in the despatch of Lord Hardinge. It is this idea that is the key note of the Andhra movement. Under the present administration the necessary freedom of action is not enjoyed by villages, districts, provinces orI India, because the freedom of individuals in villages is appropriated by the Collector of districts, that of the Collectors by the Governors of provinces, that of the Governors by the Governor-General, and that of the Governor-General by the Secretary of State. . . . . .The Birmingham Post has written to say that India wishes to be placed on an equal footing in Imperial Councils with the colonies and that this is not the time to disregard that wish. A correspondent to the Daily News wrote that India was being governed without discrimination. Though some may be under a false impression that the swaraj agitation has been started by lawyers in India, it will be plain from the opinions of the above papers that there is no truth in that statement. The only means of developing the strength of the Indians and of securing self-knowledge to them is self-government with provincial autonomy. Unless the bureaucracy realise this, India cannot attain salvation.

112. The Qaumi Report, of the 11th February, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:- Occasionally the proceedings of the Legislative Council are very interesting. Honourable Members, either intentionally or involuntarily, sing melodies in the Council Concert Chamber that produce the ecstatic state in the official members and make them recite, sweet and low, these lines:-

Subsidised newspapers.

"Nothing commes to my lips, in demand to my call.
"Silence hath meaning which words cannot express."

For example an incident of this nature actually occurred in the local council recently. The Hon'ble A.S. Krishna Rao asked:-

(a) Will the Government be pleased to state:-

1. Which papers are in receipt of Government subsidies?

2. whether the Government has bought them and, if so, for how much?

(b) Will t e Government be pleased to state--

1. if any other papers have received subsidies?

2. whether it is proposed to buy them and, if so, for how much?

Answer:- "Government is not prepared to give the information."

There is no doubt that this is a very complete and simple answer and the Government has said in a bona fide manner that it is not prepared to give the information, because forsooth the authorities think, if a list of subsidised papers is published, the names of those poor creatures, who ignore subscribers and transfer the burden of their daily subsistence to the Imperial exchequer, would be disgraced.

But we call to mind the fact that the Government of India placed such a list on the table for general information. In addition to this, in every city where there is a subsidised paper, its name is well known. But why should something worth publishing be suppressed?

"How can that matter remain a secret about which they hold meetings."--HAFIZ.

When it is not a sin to receive a subsidy nor a crime to grant one, there is no reason why subsidised papers should repudiate it or that the Government should "not be prepared."

Our contemporary, New India of last Wednesday, writes:- "From this it is evident that public opinion is strangled and that the Government pays the price." But we do not concur in this opinion because the Government does not pay with this intention. Certain papers are probably subsidised by the Government so that people unable to buy a paper may not be deprived of the privilege of reading one. Perhaps keeping the name secret concerns the hint of New India, that the Bengal Government openly subsidised the Indian Mirror, which immediately fouled its nest.

We know that the Government of India and the Government of the Nizam have both paid large subsidies to the Islamic Mail of Bombay, a fact the public is fully aware of. We cannot explain why certain papers receive a subsidy from the Nizam's Government and we are proud to say we cannot, but, when they get subsidies from the Government of India, why should they make believe they do not?

In any case, whatever may be the circumstances we must assert that both the public and the Government have a claim on them.

A paper is not the servant of merely those who pay for the stationery, but rather is it the servant of those people also (sic) who are not its subscribers. Whether Government pays a subsidy or a price it is incumbent on the paper to do its duty.

Thank God! neither the Qaumi Report nor its proprietor depends on any special subsidy, grant, subscription, help or gift. Primarily it depends on God and then through the instrumentality of its brain, hand and voice it relies on those gentlemen whose souls have a sense of national respect, whose hearts are filled with patriotism and whose feelings contain the germ of appreciation.

Just as God has appointed us to carry on our work, so has He set apart in the community and the country sympathisers and friends who love and cherish us. We pray that those relations may last as long as it may please them and, when it pleaseth them not and this connection is broken--well, then,

Verily we are God's--to do as He pleases with--and verily to Him do we return--in the ultimate state of existence--Koran II, 56--Trans.

III. Legislation.

116. The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th February, says:-

The Press Act.

No Government deserving to be called civilised need adorn themselves with this hard Press Act.

As the reasons that called it into being no longer exist, it need not remain in the Statute Book. It is a stain on the fair name of the rulers. When it was introduced Sir Herbert Risley said that it might be repealed when the papers manifest good intentions and adopt moderate tone. It is very unjust to gag, even now, papers which show suchintentions and adopt such tone. As desired by Sir H. Risley, the publishers of papers have done their duty and manifested their loyalty, but the Government have not as yet done their duty and carried out their promise. Mr. Gokhale and others would not have given their consent to this Act which is a halter to journalists and printers, if they knew that it would be used to deprive the papers of their independence and to make the life of patriotic and loyal editors of papers insupportable. The judgments delivered in New India and Comrade cases show clearly how it is a halter and what arbitrary power it places in the hands of Government officers. Justice Jenkins said that the forth chapter vested the Government with arbitrary powers, that the Act certainly put an end to the freedom of the Press and that it was most difficult in this country to keep a press or to conduct a paper. His judgment and that of Abdul Rahim show that this hard law should not exist in any country under a civilised Government. Sir H. Risley not finding this law, which deprives us of our freedom and which aims at the thoughts of men, in the English Statute Books, had to barrow it from Austria. We venture to say that to allow the law, which is opposed to British traditions, to remain in operation, is a stain on the fair

name of the rulers and pray for its repeal. Unlike the previous Press Acts which were in force for short periods, this Act of 1910 has remained in the Statute ~~Statute~~ Book for seven years. The cruelties that it has done till now are enough. It killed many old papers, put down many new ones, and made the existing papers lifelees. We pray that Lord Chelmsford will repeal this law which has annoyed the papers for seven years, and earn the gratitude of the public.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 3RD MARCH 1917.

No. 9 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

10. Mr. B.G. Tilak. (Second Para)

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 26th February, says:- "Both the Government of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi have, under the power vested in them by the Defence of India Act, issued notices to Mr. Tilak, prohibiting him from entering their respective provinces; and Mr. Tilak is surprised, because he did not intend nor had been invited by anybody to pay a visit. The information , upon the strength of which he was directed not to enter, Mr. Tilak says, is baseless, and he has asked for the substance of the information upon which action was taken so that he may seek redress. . . . . If this is a specimen of information upon which local Governments are called upon to restrain the liberty of His Majesty's subjects, the public must distrust the activities of the Criminal Investigation Department and must regard their reliability at the lowest. . . . . .Mr. Tilak is intensely patriotic, but he is also intensely loyal. The Government, it seems to us, need not have been so hasty in proceeding to act on information which has no foundation. Mr. Tilak feels that he has been wantonly humiliated. . . . . .There is no person against whom

Mr. Tilak may not give information similar to that upon which the Government of the Punjab and be expected to act on more reliable information in restraining the movements of people. The object of the Government must be not to alienate people who are disposed to co-operate with it, but to draw them into confidence. . . . . .The Government had to act on the information supplied to its officers, and they ~~enjoy~~ evidently gave wrong information. A person is liable under the Indian Penal Code for giving false information to the Police. And why should not these officers be liable for giving false informationto Government leading it to take action against individuals like Mr. Tilak. These men feel no responsibility, and they are apt to feel less if Government do not take serious notice of their criminal negligence in the present case."

14. The Hindu, of the 26th February, remarks:- "The

Indentured labour.

Statement wired to India by Reuter on Saturday last of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, that he was glad to say that the condition of indentured labourers had bddn greatly ameliorated by recent changes in Colonial laws, need not cause any surprise in India. . . . . Mr. Chamberlain does not appreciate the spirit underlying the opposition to the practice. It is the immorality of it, which is a blot on the civilisation of the people who encourage it, that constitutes the chief objection against it. Moral issues involved are the determinating factor. Mr. Chamberlain was also anxious that the interests

of the Colonies should not be jeopardised. But what has India to do with the interests of the Colonies which have grown rich at the expense of Indian labourers? India is under no obligations to them; on the contrary, the Colonies should be grateful that the vicious system was permitted so long. . . . . .The question is whether the continuance of the hateful system should be permitted for a day longer than is necessary to promulgate the order of abolition. . . . . The demand of Indian public opinion is clear, specific, unmistakable. It is the immediatedoing away of the frightful practice, and till that is accomplished, the agitation has to be kept up in all its vigour. There can be no peace in the land till the Government, realising the volume, strength and above all the justice of the demand, order its complete abolition. The Indian public are eagerly expecting that, at least, by the 31st May next, the system will see its end, and it is well for the authorities to know that it is not statesmanlike, just or even prudent that they should play with public opinion and postpone action which is urgently called for in the interests of common humanity."

Justice, of the 27th February, observes:- "The indentured system of emigration has been condemned alike by the people and the Government of India. But 'the wretch condemned with life to part still, still on hope relies' and lingers on. There never was a case where a speedy execution of the condemned criminal was more imperative than in the present case. Both the Secretary

of State and the Government of India have fully recognised the stigma laid on the Indian race by the existence of the indentured system. It is revolting to the Indian national sentiment. To wipe off that stigma and to restore the self-respect of Indian labourers as free British subjects, were, we take it, the main objects which Lord Hardinge had in view in proposing the abolition of the indentured system. Your cannot play with such national sentiments and with the self-respect of free British subjects by postponing the final decision on the subject for five years, as if iit were the construction of a type-design building by the Public Works Department. . . . . .The situation is intolerable. If the Government of India will not stop indentured emigration, the people of India must organise without delay, so that in every village in the country there are agents to warn the ignorant and the unwary of the dangers of emigration and the recruiters. Let us start a campaign for recruiting for Indian Defence Force and to stop recruiting for Colonial emigration."

Writing further on this subject, the Hindu, of the 28th February, says:- "A definite warning was conveyed by Mr. Chamberlain as to the attitude of indifference towards free labourers which the Colonies may adopt after the abolition of indentured emigration. The warning is coupled with a note of sympathy for Colonial interests which is unedifying in an official who is supposed to look after the interests of India, and it is stranger still that the Government of India should be told that the treatment of Indian labourers by the

Colonies will depend upon whether or not any obstacles are placed in the way of intending emigrants in India. This can only mean that free labourers in the Colonies can look forward to good treatment only if no obstacles are placed in the way of intending ~~recruits in India-- a line of Indian Government~~ emigrants in India; This can only mean that free labourers in the Colonies can look forward to good treatment only if no obstacles are placed in the way of intending recruits in India-- a line of reasoning which is mischievous and monstrous. It is the clear duty of the Indian Government to see that abuses do not occur at any stage of the career of the Indian labourers abroad . They should see that recruitment is not effected by fraudulent means or by false pretences; that the intending emigrants understand the terms of labour, the kind of punishment for breaches of rules, the provision for sick persons and a variety of other matters; that they are treated well by the planters; that facilities exist for approaching Courts with complaints against estate superintendents, etc. The labour laws and the economic conditions of labourers have to be carefully ~~have~~ scrutinised and power should be retained by the Government of India to have depots in India and estates in the Colonies employing Indian labour periodically inspected by persons deputed in this behalf. All these precautions are absolutely necessary and if any of the Colonies demur to any of them, the only alternative is that it shall have to go without Indian labour. . . . .

We publish elsewhere an important communication by Mr. K. Thyagaraja, an intelligent and public-spirited merchant, on the condition of Indian labourers in Ceylon giving details which do not certainly afford exhilarating reading. The system should be a vicious one which permits the existence of such conditions as are described by Mr. Thyagaraja. The committee appointed by Government which recently visited Ceylon and the Malay States should be now drawing up its report, and we would comment to it the description given of Indian free labour by Mr. Thyagaraja."

New India, of the 28th Fenruary, has the following:-

"Indian ladies and indenture system.

"The big Bombay ladies' meeting against the indenture system is a splendid proof that Indian women are in touch with and take the keenest interest in the latest happenings in the country. The protest on behalf of women comes appropriately from them and the resolution on a deputation is very important. The voice of Indian womanhood must be heard against a system whereunder the honour of Indian women is destroyed, and it will be hard for a Viceroy to refuse to listen to the demand made by a representative deputation such as is created by the resolution.

15. Justice of the 2nd March, remarks:- "We have already dealt with the indentured system of emigration. We have now to deal with the unindentured or the so-called free emigration- - - - - -We are of opinion that the so-called free emigration to the Federated

Free emigration.

Malay States and Ceylon is as full of abuses as the indentured system itself; the only difference between the two is a theoretical one, namely, that in the indentured system the coolie must serve in the Colony for a certain number of years, whereas, in the free system of emigration, the coolie is at liberty to leave his employment on giving one month's notice. But we shall presently prove that this theoretical difference does not really exist in practice. . . . .
The emigration to the Federated Malay States is, perhaps, even more injurious than the indentured system of emigration. The coolies, who are taken away to the Federated Malay States, are recruited under a system which is every bit as bad as that of the indentured system. Many of the coolies are actually kidnapped, and we have before us a list of actual instances of offences committed by recruiters. . . . . .Mis-representations made to the intending emigrants to the Federated Malay States come under the following heads: (a) the destination of the coolie usually represented as being Penang although he is taken hundreds of miles away from Penang into the inland districts which are mostly malarious; (b) the real nature of the work the coolies willhave to do is not told them. . . . .
(c) the wages are exaggereated in two particulars: (i) as to the actual amount and (ii) as to its value in Indian currency. A dollar is worth only Rs.1/12/ø, but the coolies are told that a dol,ar is equal to Rs.2/4/0 . . . . .A dollar even in Penang has not th

purchasing value of a rupee in India, and on the estates it is still less; (d) the curtailment of freedome when working on the estate is not previously explained to the coolie. It is usually represented that the coolies, when they come over to the Colonies, are absolutely free; (e) the inconveniences of the journey are carefully hidden; (f) the estates cannot recover legally the expenses incurred for bringing the coolies from their homes to the estates, but as a matter of fact the tindals and clerks of some of the estates do recover more than what was actually spent for recruitment and passage by paying very low wages hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together for the first six or twelve months. . . . . .These and similar facts completely prove that there is no difference whatever between the indentured system of emigration and the so-called free emigration to the Federated Malay States. The Secretary of State is perfectly right in insisting on a properly supervised system of emigration from India to take the place of both the indentured and non-indentured systems of emigration which exist at present."

16. New India, of the 27th February, has following:-

"Curious methods.

<u>The Social Service League.</u> "We believe that the 'Social Service League' is a body which, Mrs. Whitehead's supervision and encouragement, has been trying successfully to alleviate some of the sufferings of the poor in Madras. But we read with much regret the very unfortunate remarks

addressed by Sir Alexander Cardew to what we suppose was an Indian audience. He informed the countrymen of the Lord Buddha, of the orginators of hospitals for the sick and even for animals, of the builders of countless rest-houses and wells for travellers, that the attitude of the East was 'my soul, and God', and that of the West, ' my soul, my brother's soul and God.' He informed them further that the sense of brotherhood was absent in the past, and that the presence of a foreign Nation had created a sense of National unity. This kind of impertinence is hardly likely to encourage Indian workers. Sir Alexander advocated co-operative societies and village panchayats, apparently forgetting that he is a member of the Government that prevented the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achari in the Legislative Council from even asking leave to introduce a Bill for the establishment of village panchayats."

19. <u>The Indian Defence Force.</u> (Second para)

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 27th February, says:--"The announcement that Indians may be given Commissioned ranks in the army, if they are found qualified has certainly given deep satisfaction to Indians; one wonders why it was not made earlier and by His Excellency the Viceroy in India, instead of by the Secretary of State in England. Quite unnecessarily was the feeling permitted to prevail here that Indians would have to prove their fitness before they could be given Commissions. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief made an irritating reference to this fitness. The announcement of the commissioned rank being thrown open to

Indian marks a definite advance in the treatment of Indians. It remains now for us to make a grand effort to stimulate enthusiasm and rouse the people to a sense of responsibility. . . . . .The removal of the existing racial differences are not mentioned as a condition of Indian enlistment, but none the less it is felt that in salary and in opportunities for distinction there should be no distinction between the British soldier and the Indian Soldier.. . . . . We want the sepoy fighting in Mesopotamia to be paid as much as Howard or John who fights side by side with him; it is a confession of ignorance of Indian thought to believe that the educated classes who now enlist make any extra demand on account of their education. Racial distinction in the army must go. That has been one of the oldest of the planks in the platform of the Indian politician."

III. Legislation.

27. The Hindu, of the 1st March, writes:- "The

The Indian Defence Force Bill.

Indian Defence Force Bill was passed into law at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held yesterday, as it was amended by the Select Committee. There can hardly be any decent parallel to the procedure adopted by a responsible legislature in this case in which a ~~view~~ new, objectionable and controversial change of great constitutional importance made by a select committee has been accepted for such flimsy and unconvincing reasons. It may be recollected that the term 'European British subject' was sought

to be understood in the orginal Bill as it was defined in the Criminal Procedure Code, but the Select Committee, apparently led by the nose by Mr. Abbott of Jhansi, has introduced an important innovation the effect of which is to cast an unmerited slur on Indians. . . . . The fact is that when those in authority desire to favour a particular class of persons, they take leave of commonsense, and are not overburdened with the theoretical notions of equality, justice and equity. . . . . Racial discrimination runs through the whole measure and even the modest proposal of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to allow Indians between the ages of 16 and 18 to be given a military training just as is proposed for European British subjects, was negatived. We regret we have to say that the Government have not shown that they trust Indians in military matters as well as they do other communities, and to the same extent as the people have shown their confidence in and loyalty to the Government."

Vernaculare Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(d) Education.

Reforms in the system of education obtaining in India.

36. The Swadesamitran, of the 7th February, refers to a statement, said to have been made in an article appearing in the London Times advocating thorough reform in the system of education in England, to the effect that the chief defect in that system is that the special features of the traditions

of the British race are not made known to every member of the community, and observes:--This rаamark will apply very well to India. It is well known that eminent men have been pointing out that our system of education is not conducive to our progress, because it attaches considerable importance to western practices, without paying much heed to our national traditions and ideals.

(k) General.

52. In its leader on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd February, writes:-

Reforms in the Imperial constitution and our condition.

Even if we do not regard as a mere excuse, but accept as an explanation, what has been said by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris in the Legislative Council of the United Provinces regarding their connection with the Round Table group, the fact remains that, while the Government of India have found it wrong and forbidden any one to take part in the affairs of that body, Mr. Marris has plainly attempted to force the argument that it was a right thing for them to take such part, as it cannot amount to taking part in politics.

55. A leader in the vijayavikatan, of the 27th January, purporting to be a harangue to the people of India by Vikatan contains the following observations:- He is a member of an association in England called the Round Tabke and has a new theorey of ruling the Indians with a high-hand. He had a letter ready for publication on this subject. But, fortunately,

A comic harangue to the people of India.

this letter fell into the hands of Mr. Gandhi before Mr. Curtis could publish it, and he published it in all the papers. Mr. Curtis is now touring round India. It is certain that he will make it impossible for India to have some benefits which she may expect. He appears to be making active efforts here for this purpose. His efforts have created a stir in Madras. What are you going to do to avoid this? Some Indians think that India will have swara j after the war and that each of them can hold a Darbar in his house. They have only the desire, but have not the capacity to exercise power. There is no use of Indians crying vainly. Until the higher classes among the Indians give up all differences of caste and religion and begin to treat all people alike, the rulers are not going to grant us swaraj. Our attempt at reforming the Government instead of reforming ourselves resembles one perched on the top of a tree hewing the trunk. The European war is not going to end soon by peace being concluded. The proposal of peace suggested by the American President, Dr. Wilson, has provoked our side. He has openly stated that the right over the seas should be given up. As this war is being carried on only to preserve this right and to check competition in trade, will our party be willing to give up a privilege which they have been enjoying for such a long time? They are now carrying on the war regardless of consequences. So there is no immediate prospect of peace. Unless either party gets crushed, peace is not possible. Hence our people should give up the vain cry of "after the war." It is only after the

war that we will have to undergo numerous hardships. Who is to reimburse the enormous expenditure which is now being incurred on the war? It is we that will have to do it.

58. <u>The Indentured labour system</u>. (Second para)

Referring to what was said on this subject by the Viceroy in his speech at the Imperial Legislative Council on the 7th February 1917, the Hindu Nesan, of the 14tg February, writes:- His Excellency did not speak with sympathy on this subject, because he could not realise the indignity and mental pain felt by the people on account of this system. We have to think that the Government can only put an end to this system gradually, whereas we wish it to be done immediately. The doubt arises in our mind whether this system will be put an end to until the Government comes to know the real state of our mind in the matter. Even the Madras Mail, which is one of the Agnlo-Indian papers, which, in their narrow vision, labour in opposition to the aims of the Indians, has written on this subject showing its sympathy for us.

The system of indentured labour.

60. Quoting a portion of a letter said to have been written to the Pioneer by Mr. Polak in * which he speaks of ~~speaks of~~ the active efforts made by the people of the Fiji Islands, to retain this system for another five years and of their having sent an influential deputation to London to plead their cause, the Swadesamitran, of the 7th February, asks whether the Indians can afford to be silent now and ~~the~~ dwells upon the necessity of continued agitation here for the purpose of getting this system abolished, inasmuch as a conference is shortly to be held in London to consider this subject.

The Prapanchamitran, of the 9th February, writes:-

The Indentured coolies.

Every one knows that the Indian public are unanimously demanding the immediate abolition of the system of sending indentured labourers to foreign countries. We hailed with satisfaction the announcement by Lord Hardinge that this system would be abolished soon. The news now received, that it will be continued for a other five years in the case of the Fiji Islands, has alarmed the Indians,. It is only when this system of indentured labour, under which the coolies are left to become brutes not only in the matter of work but also in the relation between the sexes, that India will begin to be respected by other countries. It will be a mockery for a country which is sending its children to other countries like slaves and cattle in order to make a living, to assert that it is an ancient one, with a high civilisation. Will the heart of any Indian fail to throb when he hears of a section of the women of this country in which gems of chastity like Sita and Damayanti were born and bred up, spending their time like dogs without knowing what is meant by chastity? Lord Chelmsford stated that proper arrangements were being made to get labourers required for the Colonies otherwise, and that the system of indentured labour would be abolished as soon as these arrangements were complete. He himself admits that this system is detestable one, to be condemned by all wise people, and that it is very necessary to abolish it. But those who wish to continue it justify their position by pointing out that,

if it is abolished suddenly, the Colonies would suffer much thereby. Should sins be committed in the world and men become brutes to secure the welfare of the Colonies? Should the poor Indians go through hellish torments in order to spare some hardship to the Colonies? O God! can'st thou not change the minds of our rulers and make them yield to the prayer of the countless sons of Bharata? Whatever we may write, however loud the Indians may cry, we do not think anything will result therefrom. There is only one remedy for all this and that is swaraj. If we acquire swaraj under the British rule and enjoy the same privileges as the Colonies, we will doubtless be respected like the Colonists.

Indian coolies under the indentured labour system.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 16th February, reproduces a long article on this subject from the Swadesa Paripalini, which contains the following:- Our Government have sent a note to the Secretary of State for India on this subject, their attention having been frequently drawn to the treatment of the Indian coolies in the Colonies. The history of this note is worthy of attention. A committee was appointed by the Government in 1910 to enquire into this question. It was a wonderful committee, which, without setting foot in the Colonies and seeing the condition of the coolies in person, read a few reports, took the evidence of some people, and expressed its views. This committee was of opinion that the system should be continued, and that it did good to the coolies, as well as to the Colonies. Its argument is that, the population of India being large, the Indian coolie prefers

going out to foreign countries and becoming rich, to suffering from poverty in his own country in spite of constant labour, that there may be some defects in the indenture system, but that there is no rose but has a thorn, and that the rumours set afloat about the harsh treatment given to the Indians in the Colonies are not altogether true. The first mistake in this is that the committee did not obtain personal knowledge of the condition of the coolies, and the second is that it relied on the words of the European planters, who derive good by this bad system. Pay is not everything. Every one has a sense of dignity, however poor he may be. Again, as the coolie cannot go to his own country when he likes before the expiry of his contract with the planter, he considering his misery there and finding no other alternative, commits suicide. The rate of death by suicide in Madras is 4 out of 1,000 in a year, whereas in the Fiji islands among the indentured coolies it is 92. Is this not a fearful state of affairs? The promise made by Lord Hardinge.that this system would be abolished seems to have been forgotten. Mr. Andrews has openly said that the women, who are coolies in the Colonies, have to lead immoral lives either through love of money or through fear of the officers who force them to it, and accuses the Government of India as being responsible for it. It is a serious charge that he brings against the Government. Even the European papers like the Indian Daily Telegraph published in Lucknow say that the Government should make known by a notification whether Mr. Andhrew's statement is true.

Indentured labour.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd February, refers to a meeting of ladies at Poona to protest against the system of indentured labour, and remarks:--It will be seen to what extent the system has moved the indignation of the whole country when we consider that even ladies who do not ordinarily enter politics hold meetings protesting against it.

Indentured labour.

The Swadeshabhimani, of the 16th February, in an article refering to the reports published by the Ceylonese regarding the illtreatment of indentured coolies in Ceylon, says:- Although the report of the representatives sent by the Madras Government to enquire inot the condition of the indentured coolies in Ceylon has not been published as yet, as the representatives were the guests of the planters for several days, Indian popular leaders are not likely to attach much importance to their report. The association known as the "Imperial citizenship" of Bombay has therefore proposed to send Messrs. Polak and Natesan (of Madras) as Indian representatives to Ceylon. Mr. Polak, it is well known, is one who devoted himself heart and soul to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian coolies in South Africa; and it is he who opened the eyes of the Indians to this question. Mr. Natesan too has exerted himself considerably in the same cause. As both these are well fitted to make the enquiry, it is to be hoped that India will benefit considerably by their services in this connection.

61. The following is the summary of an article from the Swadesa Paripalini

The kangani system.

reproduced in the Hindu Nesan, of the 15th February:- In replying to the question whether, in case the indentured labour system is put a stop to in the Colones, the kangani system be introduced in its place, Mr. Polak stated that it was also a painful system for the coolies, and should be abolished altogether. The coolie should be free to go and work wherever be pleased, and be given the right to return to his own country when he did not like to work. The present regulations on the subject are prejudicial to the interests of the coolies, but are advantageous to European planters. It is clearly seen from the cases heard in Courts that the Coolies are badly treated. In a certain instance, a bad of coolies were charged with having stayed away from work. They pleaded illness; but their master insisted on his rights. The magistrate saw that they could not even stand, and taking pity on them condemned their master and reported his conduct to the authorities. But all magistrates are not like him. Many of them, unaware of the condition of the coolies, find them guilty of breach of contract and punish them, though the High Court often condemns such procedure. The Indian coolies would prosper only when they are raised to an equal status with the European coolies.

62. In a summarised report of the proceedings of a meeting held at Gokhale Hall on the

A protest meeting of the Anti-Indenture League.

15th February, under the presidency of Dr. Sir S. Subramania Ayyar, to protest against the indentured labour system, the Hindu Nesan, of the 16th February, makes the following observations:- The chairman referred in his speech to the misery of the coolies in the Fiji islands, and said, in touching terms, that they were subjected to a worse indignity than slavery, that this state of things under the British rule gave room for regret, that while it was the main duty of the Government to protect the Indian emigrants, the Viceroy did not seem to take any interest in the matter, but spoke only in favour of the Colonials, and that immediate steps should be taken to relieve the Indian coolies from the sufferings caused by the system. Several speakers followed and condemned the system. Some of them remarked that we should not be deceived by the fact that an Indian was selected as a member of the Legislative Council of the Colonies, and that the abolition of the system was not a difficult task for the British people, who put an end to sati and slave trade.

The Report of the Public Services Commission.

65. Referring to this report, the Vijayavikatan, of the 27th January, observes:- When this Commission held its enquiry, all the 36 crores of people in India thought that some benefit would accrue to India therefrom and were anxiously awaiting it. After all its report has caused disappointment to all. It does not benefit the Indians in the least. It does not matter if there is no benefit. It is the duty of the Indians to see that no harm results therefrom. There is a wide divergence between the lines which India is now progressing and the trend of the report.

The Swadesamitran, of the 8th February, publishes what purports to be a translation of the speech delivered by Mrs. Besant at the Y.M.C.A. Buildings on the 7th idem condemning this report.

The report of the Public Services Commission.

66. The Swadesamitran, of the 6th February, publishes what purports to be a translation of a speech said to have been delivered by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Fazal Hussain on this subject at a public meeting held in the Bradlaugh Hall at Lahore, justifyigg the suggestions made in the memorandum presented to the Viceroy by nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Reforms in India after the war.

69. A correspondent, under the Non-de-plume of Narada, writes in the Prapanchamitran of the 9th February:- Some petty-minded Englishmen think that while the Indians are teasing the Englishmen so much even when they have only a few minor privileges, there is no knowing what they will do if they get swaraj. The names of many high English officials including that of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces have come out as having proferred their support to the party of Mr. Curtis. Has it anywhere been heard that Indian officials were ever connected with any political movement in this manner? Is this not a proof of the fact that the Indians never transgress the rules?

Stray notes.

Remembering the benefits we have derived from the English Government, those who have money give it and the Government also acknowledge it thankfully. But, if those who have no money even offer to sacrifice their lives on the field of war, the Government do not accept their services. Is it just on the part of Englishmen, who are making Herculean efforts to make the Indians render pecuniary assistance, to impose restrictions on the Kndians in the case of the army alone? If there were facilities for the Indians to join the army as they liked, Germany's mischief would have been curbed long ago.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was to have asked several questions in the United Provinces Legislative Council about the connection of the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province with associations which are out and out political. But the latter woke up before the Honourable Member could move, and came out with a preface about his connection with such an association in the very beginning. He said that, as he now came to know that the Government was not for officials being connected with the Round Table organisation, he would no longer be a member thereof, and added that he too agreed in the opinion of the Government. So this head of a Province has been conducting the administration all these days without knowing how officials should conduct themselves! Ah! If an Indian official commits an offence by mistake, he is punished immediately and without fail. Perhaps there is no law now for this gentleman! Moreover Mr. Marris, the head of the Police department in that Province, insolently remarked that the Round Table was an independent political organisation and that he represented India therein.

We do not at all understand why the Government are still blinking, without dismissing him immediately. It is only when our Government administer justice impartially among their subjects, that true love for it would be created. It is a mistake to think that by merely writing books on loyalty, it can be infused into the head of every boy.

One Mr. J.T. Jenkins, a white merchant, is a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He has a great deal of knowledge about loyalty. According to his view, Mrs. Besant, her book entitled "How India wrought for freedom" and others who work like this for the welfare of India, all come within the range of sedition. This Honourable Member, with so much of knowledge, was accused in a court of law for having beaten a compounder under him in his office. The Magistrate observed that, without appearing before him, the Honourable Member had written a separate letter to him and that he did not approve of this. The Barrister, who appeared for the complainant, pointed out that this was a very important case, that the unjust habit of masters beating their servants like this should be put a stop to and that, nevertheless, he would not press his case, if the Honourable Member apologised. But the Magistrate, without caring in the least for justice, seems to have stated that it was a very petty case and that he would have a personal talk with Honourable Member and set matters right and seems to have somehow compromised the case. Will not the Hon'ble Mr. Jenkins recommend to the Governor of Bombay (both are good friends) now at least to confer the title of Rao Bahadur on this Magistrate?

There is no room at all for us to believe that the British Colonies are very affectionate to or are getting to be affectionate to India. First of all if we are to have confidence in them, the distinction between./ the coloured and non-coloured races should be entirely done away with. But it looks as if this thing will never happen. Though many countries will cry "Bravo!" at the assistance we render in this war, they do not say that we are equal to them. Recently, Australia seems to have notified that those going to that country as servants on boardships should produce a permit. New Zealand and Mauritius also seem to have notified like this. Columbia, Canada and other countries have already done so. Ah! Is this not sufficient proof of the affection the Colonies have for us?

News has been recently received that the Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir James Meston and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha have been nominated by the Government to advise the Secretary of State for India in the War Council to be convened in England. As for Sir James Meston, the third individual, you know him yourselves. This is the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces who is in league with the famous Mr. Curtis and who is assisting the latter in his conspiracy to somehow bring India under the rule of the Colonies. We are not at all satisfied with the Government having honoured Mr. Meston in this way, while they should punish him according to their rules, for the mistake he has committed from his high position. So, on the whole, there will be no benefit whatever to India from this nomination. Our humble

prayer to God is that, by his grace, no harm should result therefrom. There is also another matter which we have to note here, and that is the fact that it is the Secretary of State for India who will proceed to this Council as the representative of India. It is this gentleman that, in reply to any question in the British Parliament about events in India, is repeating "I do not know anything as yet. I am just learning." Mr. Meston and Mr. Sinha will only "assist" him and do no more, while the Maharaja of Bikanir will "accompany" him. So a doubt has arisen as to whether, in the conference to be held there, these three will proceed only as far as the gate or they will get in. If it is the former, they would be preserving their own sense of self-respect and the dignity of mother Bharata by returning immediately to India. If they do not do so, they will not be true sons of India.

The report of the Public Services Commission established in 1910 has been published. There are two important points which we have to note in this report, and they are (their recommendations on) the holding of the Indian Civil Service competitive examination simultaneously in England and India and the separation of the executive from the judicial functions. As regards the first, it has not only been decidedly negatived but even the existing system has been modified for the worse. It is stated (in the report) that those proceeding to England for the Indian Civil Service examination should be between 17 and 19 years of age, and that they should be graduates. But the law prevents any one from appearing

for the Matriculation examination in India before one is 16 years old and if one goes up without failing in any examination even once, one gan get the B.A., degree only in his 20th year. How will these pass their B.A., examination and go to England before they are 20? God alone knows it. Perhaps the decided opinion of the Commission is that Indians should not pass the Indian Civil Service examination. The second item has also shared the same fate, and similarly every other item. Ah' what a lot for the Indians.!

79. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 24th February, says:-

Military and naval defence.

Everybody has to agree with Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar in his statement that the Colonies had not made greater sacrifice for the war than India. . . . . .In order to obviate the necessity of spending extravagant amounts for maintaining a large standing army, the authorities have to form an army of volunteers for the defence of the country as in Europe. . . . . .India, which is bounded by tge sea on three sides, requires a navy too. If both an army and a navy be provided for India, the defence of India and of the British Empire becomes an easy thing. We hope that this most important matter will be discussed and settled at the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

80. Under this heading the Kistnapatrika, of the 24th February, writes:-

The fear of the authorities.

. . . . The Government of Punjab as if to show that they are not backward

in their fear have issued an order prohibiting Mr. Tilak and Mr. B.C. Pal from setting their foot in the Punjab . . . . .How did they dream of this?. . . . . .What placed them in this ridiculous situation? Some Criminal Investigation Department officer must have planned all this and the Punjab Government have had to use the shaft of the "Defence of India Act", for the defence of the Punjab; but the marks of the shaft were not actual violators of piece, but their false images reflected in the perturbed minds of the rulers.

81. Referring to the speech of Mr. Tilak exhorting the people to join the Volunteer corps

An Indian Volunteer corps.

the Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd February, remarks:- It is but natural that the whole authority should be in the hands of the English so long as they defend the country. It is absurd that the Government should be in our hands while we make others responsible for the defence of the country. . . . . .We trust that the patriotic Andhra leaders will carry to the people the message of Mr. Tilak, and discharge their duty by laying the foundation of an army for the defence of the country.

84. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd February, says:-

Swaraj.

In his speech on Swaraj at Calcutta, Mr. Pal said that it was unnecessary to discuss the question whether India was fit for swaraj or not, and that the rulers should distinctly understand that the reconstruction of the British Empire was impossible without India being granted swaraj and

placed on an equal footing with the Colonies. Mr. Panchagouri Banerji said that while the westerners criticised the caste differences in Hindu Society, the Europeans under the British rule were so many Brahmans who excluded the Hindus and the Muhammadans as Sudras. Mr. Abdul Rasul said that it was improper that Mr. Meston, who had expressed his sympathy with the members of the "Round Table" should have been sent to represent the Indians at the Imperial Conference.

87. Referring to the announcement of Lord Chelmsford

What is the use?

that nothing could be done anent the system of Indentured labour until May next when the conference sits in London the Andhraprakasika, of the 24th February observes under this heading as follows:- We are sorry that the time has come after all for the people to despair. It is well known that the condition of the coolies that go to foreign countries such as Natal, Singapore, etc., under indenture, is day by day growing worse than that of cattle. Is it anything but just that we should lose heart when the rulers are determined in that wise despite our lamentations? The Madras public are in one voice crying with tears in their eyes, "O Lord Chelmsford! We pray that the system of Indentured labour be abolished. Alas! Wh will lend their ears to this prayer? Who will respect this prayer if heard? Who will carry us over the hardships if it is respected."

89. The Andhrapatrika, of the 24th February, says:-

India's contribution to the expenses of the war.

A certain correspondent has written to the London Times that our Financial Secretary Sir William Meyer, does not contribute anything to the expenses of the

war. Our readers know that India has helped Britain in this war as no Colony has done. She has sent many lakhs of soldiers to Mesopotamia, Egypt and Africa, and is paying them wherever they may be serving. . . . . . Writing on the help that India rendered to England in the days of peace, Mr. S.K. Sarma says "There were in England at the commencement of the war 400,000 English soldiers under 45 years, who returned to England after serving their five years' term in India. India has spent on their behalf 360 crores of rupees." While in fact India spends large sums on the army every year, fault-finders say that she does not do anything for the war and that she is indifferent. These words not only betray their ignorance, but also their perverse knowledge. Let those who cry of "the sacrifice made by the Colonies," "The devotion of the Colonies," say what sacrifice those countries made compared with the sacrifice made by India. No other country in the world's history has shown such a magnanimous attitude towards a foreign Government as India, which does not enjoy self-government but is a dependency. We wrote yesterday what Australia had done in the present critical situation of the empire.

90. The Andhrapatrika, of the 24th February, says:-

The Imperial Conference.

Mr. Chamberlain said in the House of Commons that he only would represent India at the Imperial Conference. The Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir S.P. Sinha and Sir James Meston will only go with him to the Conference and that he will take a part in the discussions. It has happened just as we thought from the beginning. The position of our representatives will be no better than that of private vakils or pleaders' gumastahs.

103. The Kerala Patrika of the 24th February, points out that the decision of the Government,

Exports of foodstuffs from England.

not to export foodstuffs from England, will little affect India, as they are not very necessary articles, and as most of them, if wanted, can be produced in this country, and observes that this restriction may have the effect of inducing the people to produce them here.

104. The Qaumi Report, of the 20th February, has a leader on the marginally-noted subject

The national outlook for Mussalmans after the war.

in the course of which the editor at length says, "The real reason why we are hesitating on the Home Rule question is that we do not care to ruin our special national rights."

105. The Qaumi Report, of the 20th February, says:- The Government of the Punjab has prohibited

Mr. Pal.

Mr. Pal from entering the province. Quite recently the door was closed against Mr. Tilak. Since then Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal has been prohibited. Let us see whose turn will be next.

106. The Qaumi Report, of the 21st February, in further discussing the marginally-noted

Our demands after the war.

subject writes:- The Muslim League and the Congress have decided that we should obtain Home Rule and that India should be placed on the same footing as the Colonies.

There is no doubt that this is a just and statesmanlike demand. We are unable to express any satisfaction with the present political state of India and we assert that the attempt on the part of certain Colonies to make India subordinate to them and the strenuous endeavours, that are being made by the "Round Table" party in this direction, are a veritable negation of our national and social greatness. We acknowledge the British Crown alone as our ruler but no other power or Government beside it can control us.

But the question is whether from now onwards we are prepared for Home Rule and if not, how long it will take us to fit ourselves for it. When we look around at the events happening on all sides, we find the area of our hope very circumscribed. The glean of Home Rule, which we now see, is a long way off and we have little hope of reaching it for another fifty years.

107. The Qaumi Report of the 24th February, writes:-

Interned persons and Mussalmans.

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Delhi on the 21st instant, the Hon'ble Dadabhai moved the following resolution:-

"A special committee should be appointed in each province, under section 2(f) of the Defence of India Act, to decide who should be arrested and kept in custody."

The honourable mover observed that at present people are recklessly arrested and kept in custody. Houses are suddenly searched and no evidences is advanced to indicate the crime, charge or suspicion upon which they

have been arrested. If the supposed criminal is not afforded an opportunity to prove his innocence in the Law Courts, he should at least be given a charge sheet stating upon what act of his the Government has taken proceedings.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chandar moved an amendment to the effect that "The proposed committee should consist of a High Court Judge ordinarily an Indian, one Indian Vakil, not being a Government Vakil, and one Sessions Judge."

It is evident, the editor says, that this demand is in accordance with the Constitutional Law of Britain and the Magna Charta. This first charter which is still in our hands solemnly declares this as indispensable "no one, amongst us, will be punished without the lawful judgment of his peers." In British Provinces, every accused person possesses the right of defence, and the civil law of Europe grants the right of proof and argument. Russia is, indeed, the only country in the world, where the honour and life of a man are at the mercy of the authorities and the ministers.

Telegraphic information shows that two of the Mussalman members seconded the proposition. The Hon'ble Muzher- l-Huq said, "I have supported the Defence of India Act in and out of the Chamber. I emphatically protest, however, against the procedure which some Governments have adopted. In certain cases my own community has suffered much in consequence. I take full responsibility

for saying that feeling of unrest has been created among a section of the community owing to the internment of Muhammad Ali, Shanket Ali and Zafar Ali. That section is wondering why they have been interned. I suggest that by the carrying out of this proposition and the amendment thereto the Government itself will be the gainer."

The Hon'ble Muhammad Ali Jinnah said "no non-official member entertains the idea that guilty persons should be punished (sic) I propose that non-official member should be excluded from the committee. What objection can there be to the appointment of a committee consisting of the principal law members of the Government?"

It is to be regretted that Sir Reynold Craddack rejected the proposition on behalf of the Government. Mr. Reynold says "the idea of certain members is wrong that in the matter of internment summary information is relied on. Up to the present moment nobody has been interned regarding whom full proof of his offence has not been obtained.

We are not one of those who regard the Government with suspicious eyes. On the contrary, we have implicit confidence in its bona fides and we also admit its sense of fair play. But we do not know what advantage there is in keeping the crime of an offender secret. The Government punishes an offender and people think that he is innocent as no description of his offences is entered in his character sheet or in the confidential record of the Government. The result is people naturally sympathise with him. In these circumstances it would not be surprising if they view, with suspicion, the procedure of the Government. The Hon'ble Mr. Muzher-ul-Guq has

correctly interpreted the ideas of the public with reference to Muhammad Ali, etc. Certainly God alone can gauge the effect produced on the minds of Mussalmans by this internment. Mr. Saiyed Nabi-ulla rightly remarked at the meeting of the All India Muslim League at Lucknow "The Defence of India Act has been, from time to time, enforced in an appalling manner, and certain approved and popular Mussalman leaders, like Mr. Muhammad Ali and Shankat Ali, have been deprived of their freedom. They have neither been charged with any special offence nor has their case been conducted in a regular manner. They have not even been granted an opportunity of rebutting the charges upon which they have been interned. Hence people, in general, cannot be blamed for thinking that they are innocent, but have fallen prey to suspicion and misunderstanding."

We regret very much that the Government of India has rejected the endeavour to remove the unwarranted doubts of the people. Had the proposition been carried those people who have been accustomed to view with disapproval certain defensive measures of the Government would not be able to say anything. However, the Government can act with greater caution and release those persons of whom they have thorough experimental knowledge.

111. In its leader on this subject, the Andhra-patrika, of the 23rd February, says:-

The Defence of India Act.

It is known all over the country how the authorities have used the Defence of India Act to restrict the freedom of speech and of movement of the people. Under this Act, hundreds of young men in Bengal have been punished with internment. . . . .

A law which was enacted with a good intention has in practice been a source of trouble to the people. The Criminal Investigation Department officers who are the cause of this trouble are confining people on suspicion, without discrimination, and then try to establish their guilt. . . . . .This is unlawful and leads to agitation and unrest. It is unjust to apply the Act to matters unconnected with the war. Even in matters connected with the welfare of the country, the executive officers use the Act, without discretion and thus engender discontent . . . . .Well-intentioned rulers like Lord Carmichael are not always available, and the administration of the Act is in the hands of the Criminal Investigation Department officers and they are all powerful.. . . . . The liberal-hearted even among the rulers should see that the Defence of India Act requires to be amended necessarily.

112. The Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd February, says:-

Indian Defence Force Bill.

The people feel grateful to the rulers for introducing the Indian Defence Force Bill in obedience to their requirements at least. It cannot be believed that the people who have long been accustomed to comforts will at once take to military service. Even those who intend to join that service will not do so unless the rulers cease to make a difference between Europeans and Indians. Again, unless the rulers arrange to admit Indians in the army not only as ordinary soldiers but also as officers, the Indians will not easily take

to the hard military profession. Had the rulers enacted this law at the commencement of the war, magy would have joined the army by this time. It is the want of confidence on the part of the rulers that has fesulted in the present undesirable plight. As stated by Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya it is necessary that the rulers should give the Indians due military trainigg and throw on them the responsibility of defending the country. All the Indians the Andhras especially, should readily avail themselves of this opportunity and pave the way for the development of Indian national strength.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 10TH MARCH 1917.

No. 10 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

2. The United Provinces Police. (Second para)

Writing on this subject, Justice, of the 5th March, observes:- "Mr. C.Y. Chintamani, a Madras Brahman, who is a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, moved a resolution in that Council recommending the deletion of the rule in the Police regulation of that Province which says that Brahmans, Kayasthas and Banias should seldom be nominated in certain branches of the Police Force. The Government opposed the resolution observing that in their experience 'Brahmans made conspicuously bad masters.' The experience of others elsewhere is the same. But the Madras Government has not yet found out that Brahmans make bad masters. Perhaps it is because as servants they make themselves generally useful."

(k) General.

10. Indentured labour. (second para)

The Andhra Advocate, for the week ending 4th March, remarks:- "It is an irony of fate that, during these days when the mind of the Government is in an agitated condition created by the war when the mind of the people is troubled by the effects of the war, the Indians should be cunvulsed by the pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy that the indentured emigration cannot be stopped before five years and that this convulsion and the incidental agitation against the continuance of the system should probably contravene the exhortation of the Viceroy against political agitation. The crying voice of the people, from one end of the continent to the other as that of one man, whose conscience and self-respect are injured and insulted, the voice that is determined to be heard, with due respect to Viceregal declarations, by His Imperial Majesty, to whose kind heart the Indian subjects are as near and dear as the Colonials, ought not to be, with wisdom and prudence, consigned to the category of mental effusions of the political agitator; the cry refuses to be hushed up or stifled and will only cease from making itself heard with the cessation of the prevalence of the unjustifiable laws favouring the emiggation. . . . . .Indians must help themselves until the Government should come to their succour. As suggested by Mr. Somasundara Sastri, the District

Associations can do much to mitigate the evil and it consists in preaching to the rural population in the villages the wickedness of life in the Colonies. We are prevented from going into the depots for this preaching and no amount of remonstrance from the non-official members of the Legislative Council could wring out this much coveted concession from our Government and this was pointed out in the meeting by Rao Bahadur K. Narasinha-row Pantulu Garu. This and this is the only means available to us to prevent future emigration which will doubtless prove to be a practical solution to the difficulty which is rending the hearts of the Indians. We observe, with much concern, that our district contributes a large number of slaves in disguise, and it remains to be seen whether they will be able to adopt any remedial measures for the preveittion of the continuance of the evil. Side by side asking the Government, as protectors of the dignity of the Indians, we have to do what is open to us to do; otherwise we shll be open to the charge of insincerity."

11. Justice, of the 3rd March, writes:--"It is not very difficult to devise means for ensuring a proper system of recruitment and emigration. We agree with the proposal of the Government of India that in future the system of emigration ought to aim at (1) the maintenance of a proper sex proportion among emigrants, (2) the ensuring to the labourer reasonable freedom to choose and change his employer, (3) securing suitable and proper conditions under which the labourer can work and live in the colony, (4) establishing a recruiting system in India under due supervision and free from abuses. . . . . .There is only one

The control of Indian emigration.

remedial measure that will have the desired effect from the Indian point of view, and that is to permit only married women who go with their husbands to emigrate. By stopping the emigration of all unmarried women and widows and married women who travel without their husbands no injustice or injury will be done to the working class women in India. Similarly, unmarried men and widowers and husbands going without their wives ought to be prohibited from emigrating as recruited coolies. In other words, men without wives and women without husbands ought not to be recruited for emigration. This is fixing the sex proportion equal. It does something more. It prevents the emigration of the undesirable class of women. Our proposal may appear to be a little drastic and at first it will diminish the labour supplym but things will adjust themselves in time and the degrading and immoral condition now existing will be completely removed. . . . . .We are of opinion that it is not a very difficult matter to adopt safeguards to prevent the existinc abuses, and there is no necessity for delaying the abolition of the indentured system because we have not already provided the safeguards for a system of recruitment which may follow. In a very short time the Government of India ought to be able to abolish the indentured system and to establish agencies for the proper control of the recruiting system. Where there is a will there is a way."

12. The Indian Patriot, of the 3rd March, remarks:- WWe published yesterday from the pen of

Labour conditions in Ceylon.

Mr. Karimuthu Thyagaraya, a Madras merchant who carries on business at Colombo, an authoritative statement on the plight of Indian coolies in the Ceylon plantations . . . . .We comment the public spirit of Mr. Thyagaraya and hope that the Madras Government will take note of the very serious allegations that he makes and share the indignation that they will rouse in the public mind. It is easy, not merely for the irresponsible, but even for the serious minded, to assert that mere appeals to the Government at such a crisis would do no good, that public men and public organisations must be actuated by the spirit of Mr. Thyagaraya and must hound out the kanganies from their prey. . . . . The Government must act. It must act sternly and without loss of time. Who but 'our Governmemt,' as Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai described the Government of Madras, could feel as strongly as we do over the revelations of human suffering and degradation contained in the independent report of Mr. Thyagaraya?"

The emigration enquiry committee.

14. The Hindu, of the 7th March, observes:- "The report on the Indian labour emigrating to Ceylon and Malaya prepared by Mr. N.E. Marjoribanks and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A.K.G. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar, Sahib Bahadur, who were appointed by the Government of Madras to inquire into the subject, has now been published. It is a perfunctory performance of hardly any value for the purpose for which the Committee was appointed. For all that we know, the greater portion of the compilation which has been dignified into a report, might have been written by the Committee without leaving the City of Madras. . . . . .We have been indeed

occasionally hearing of the easy methods of the Committee in pursuing its inquiries in Ceylon and of the social welcome that was extended to it in the places which it visited, and the report which the public have been presented with does not certainly belie the expectations that were formed when the composition of the Committee was made known. The Committee appears to have spent about seventeen days in Ceylon and about the same number of days in Malaya, and during this all too short period, it paid flying visits to estates, hospitals, coolies' lines, etc., made rapid marches more worthy of globetrotters than of a responsible Committee entrusted with.--T important work and interviewed a few persons in various places. . . . . .The Committee, however, has ignored details which it evidently thought would cumber its report and has drawn up a report which is confined to a recital of facts about such general topics as strength of the labour force, system of recruitment, work, wages and punishments, housing, vital statistics, education, etc., with sly remarks here and there made with the object of showing that everything is all right with Indian labourers in Ceylon and Malaya.. . . . . . After the description of the manner in which the Committee went about its work, the public need not expect any other results from its labours than what have been embodied in the report. . . . . .We cannot deal with the report fully today, but it is strange and unaccountable that a Committee which was asked to report 'on the methods of recruiting and conditions of Indian labour on the estates in Ceylon and Malaya' should have made no specific suggestions and recommendations on the numerous matters that should have come under their

consideration. . . . . . . .Bu the public cannot rely on this document for an impartial, accurate and detailed account of the condition of Indian labour in Ceylon and Malaya, and we have to look forward to the un-official deputation which we are sure will go to those places in a few weeks, for a fair and full description and for recommendations for improving the system. In the meanwhile, we must ask the Madras Government and the Government of India not to rely very much on the compilation which has now been published."

Writing on the subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 7th March, says:- "If the object of the Marakayar Marjoribank's Commission was to write a resume of the conditions of labour in Ceylon and Malay Peninsula and not to make enquiries regardin the actual state of affairs, the report that has been published will be a valuable document and gives us much valuable information regarding the conditions of service. . . . . As we have said, as a document recording the rules an d regulations in force, and the conditions of labourers as seen at first glance, the report is valuable; but to those who would examine it with a view to find out the truth or otherwise of the serious allegations of oppression and mischief such as come from independent sources like that of Mr. Karimuthu Thyagaraya, nothing but disappointment awaits. . . . . ~~It-iit~~ Is it or is it not a fact that the Tamil coolie in the Ceylon plantations is harshly treated? Is it or is it not a fact that very serious instances of ill-treatment of coolies have come from the Malay Peninsula, in fact to such an extent that the Government once notified publicly that there was no Protector of Emigrants in Malaya? We find no answer to this important question

in the report of the Commissioners. It was for this answer that Indian public opinion demanded a Commission of Enquiry. If, as a result of the report, the Government would prohibit the emigration of illiterate and ignorant men who could be led like cattle by Kanganis, a real step would have been taken to satisfy public opinion. As it is, the Commission, whose report is placed before the public, need not have been appointed at all."

18. The Hindu, of the 3rd March, writes:- "The Hon'ble Mr. B.N. Sarma raised an important constitutional question in the course of the very inadequate discussion of the Income-tax and Super-tax Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council held the day before yesterday. The objection, in both cases, was considered by the Vice-President as not valid, but the question requires a more detailed and careful examination than was given to it by the Government. . . . . The need arises from the fact that the Government desire to meet in the next year a new liability of £6 millions created by the decision to make a contribution of £100 millions to the general war purposes of Great Britain out of Indian revenues. There will be no deficit and consequently no new taxation, if this contribution were not to be made. Apart from the desirability or otherwise of the gift, the question whether the law allows of such a contribution is one which must be clearly settled in view of the great constitutional issues involved. . . . .

India's war contribution.

It may be recollected that the decision that India should bear the cost of the Expeditionary Forces sent abroad, to the extent to which such cost would have been incurred if the forces had remained in India, had to receive the assent of Parliament. Should not, then, the antecedent sanction of bothh Houses of Parliament. Should not, then, the antecedent sanction of both Houses of Parliament be sought for and obtained before undertaking legislation in India which will become necessary only after such sanction?. . . . .
The whole difficulty arises from the fact that India has not got the power of the purse. The Secretary of State is the sole arbiter of India's destiny and he can do what he likes, the Parliament being as it now decidedly is a mere tool in the hands of the Ministry. One-hundred million sterling is not a small amount; it is a burden the stupendous nature of which has not, we regret, been realised by the Government of India or the Imperial Government who have so readily accepted the contribution. And the irony of the situation is that the decision is taken behind the back of the Indian Legislative Council and of the Indian public. Indians are quite willing that their country should bear her legitimate portion of the burdens of the war. Of that there is no question. But she is entitled to be consulted as to the extent to which she is prepared and considers herself able to bear such burdens, This appears to be almost a family arrangement, and it is against the method adopted in matters like these that Indian public opinion has so long been fighting in vain. The world is asked to believe that the gift is spontaneous, splendid. Splendid it is; but spontaneous, we are afraid it is not, for the Indian public were not consulted beforehand. We are not, as we have said before,

questioning the necessity, the fairness and the justice of India, a part of the Empire, being ready and willing to share Imperial responsibilities. But the extent of the help and the manner of offer should, in all decency, be left to be settled by her elected representatives. This has not been done in the present case with the result that India has been practically saddled with a responsibility, the full effect of which can only be experienced as years go by."

26. The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 4th March, has the following:-

Messrs.B.G. Tilak and B.C. Pal.

"Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu is fast becoming a politician--not only that, she is outbesanting Besant. . . . . The Government have their own heavy responsibilities in these days on the Frontier. They ought to take precaution. Messrs. Tilak and Pal must thank themselves for having roused the suspicion of Government. This is certainly not the time to embarrass the Government in any way. Let the war cease, and we shall say all that we must now keep contained in our minds."

30. <u>The Press Deputation</u>. (second para)

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 6th March, says:- "The Viceroy's reply to the address of the Indian Press Deputation is a very lengthy one. It is Xurzonian and polemical in character, uncompromising in upholding the present reactionary policy of the Government in relation to the Indian press, and fiercely denunciatory of some of the organs of Indian opinion.

However much the Press Association may have invited a frank expression of opinion from Lord Chelmsford and unwittingly courted a rebuff by asking for the reception of a deputation no candid critic can say that the long, laboured and declamatory speech of the Viceroy was opportune and statesmanlike. . . . . .Lord Chelmsford has not, we find, spared the Judges of the High Courts from adverse criticism. The Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court and the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court are commended by the Viceroy in so far as a fraction of their judicial observations went towards supporting the views of the respective Local Governments whose actions came for review before them. But as regards those points in which they unmistakably condemned the Press Act, the language in which it is couched, and its dangerous tendency to curb the liberty of the press, Lord Chelmsford finds that they cannot be explained away, except by calling in question the authority of the learned Judges to make such pronouncemnts . . . . .His Excellency's manner of dealing with the judgments of the High Courts was positively offensive. His whole object appears to have been no place the Executive over the Judiciary, a dangerous game inimical to the growth of free institutions in India and utterly inconsistend with the spirit of the British Constitution and of British Democracy."

The Indian Patriot, of the 6th March, writes:-
"Lord Chelmsford's speech in reply to the deputation of

the Indian press that waited upon him will cause throughout India intense disappointment. It is conceived in a fighting spirit, although we are sorry that rash writings in some newspapers should have enabled Lord Chelmsford to make out what we cannot but describe as a strong case for the retention of the Act on the Statute Book. But when His Excellency went out of the way to sit in judgment over High Courts, he was displaying, to an unnecessary extent, the spirit which we are accustomed to find reflected in the columns of the Pioneer or the Englishman. It was a mistake, we think, to have assumed the fighting attitude, as if the Government of India have taken the Sydenham advice not to play with the people but to tell them straightaway that they cannot expect anything. Lord Chelmsford hzx, b y this speech, shown to India that under him we cannot expect any liberal treatment. We expected from the Viceroy a more sober and statesmanlike utterance, than the angry denunciation showing a soured mind. Does any responsible statesman expect the people of India to put up with the Press Act? Does he not expect representations to be made against it? And it this the way that the heads of Government should treat a popular representation? The speech will create discontent, and we are no wrong in declaring that by this speech Lord Chelmsford has distinctly announced to India that his five years would be a period, not of progress, but reaction."

Justice, of the 6th March, observes:- "We are not living in normal times, and the fact the empire was in

'the throes of a life and death struggle' should have been borne in mind by the Indian Press Association before they decided to press the question upon the attention of the Viceroy. It may also be argued that at such a time as this even if the Government had taken more stringent measures against the possible dissemination of inflammatory literature, the step would not have been without its justification. . . . . We cannot agree with the deputation in thinking that journals of the objectionable variety have altogether ceased to exist. Where any public good is to be attained, where the cause of justice, individual and social, is to be furthered, strong writing--strong, of course, in the strength of facts, is justifiable; and we are not aware that any high-minded Englishman has ever objected to such journalism."

The Press Deputation.

The Indian Patriot, of the 7th March, remarks:- "Although it may be admitted that the time chosen was not the most opportune to ask for the repeal of the Press Act--and in this probably we may be disposed to agree with the Viceroy,--it is impossible to support the manner of the Viceroy's reply or the facts which His Excellency adduced to justify the excessive rigors introduced into the law of sedition. The reply is wholly one-sided, the facts and arguments adduced are taken from the official records which entirely overlook the other side. . . . . .From Lord Chelmsford's statement it would appear that the Press was throughout kept under restraint by law and that, when that restraint ~~by-law-and-that,-when-that-restrain~~ was removed, there was an outburse of violence and disloyalty. On the other hand, the Press was peaceful and

and loyal so long as there was no provoking cause to disturb it. This is further illustrated by the attitude of the Press during the whole period of Lord Curzon's rule. It took a long time for the trend of Lord Curzon's policy to be understood. . . . . .Unfortunately it was left to Lord Minto to reap the whirlwind where his predecessor had sown the wind. Throughout the history of the Press there was never an effect without a cause, and the cause was perfectly under the control of the Government. . . . . .His Excellency the Viceroy has wholly accepted the official version of the History of the Press legislation. That was not what was expected. He should have recognised the provocative causes which led to violent writing. Nobody would contend that offences committed even under provocation should be condemned; but it is the duty of statesmen to see that these causes are minimised, and that laws are framed not so as to shackle freedom, but to permit freedom to be exercised. . . . . .We should think it would be incompatible with the spirit of British rule to retain the Press Act which increases the number of offences and places writers in the Press perpetually at the mercy of the executive."

32. The Indian Patriot, of the 6th March, writes:- "It will create no surprise, it has not created any surprise in our minds, that the Indiaman heartily denounces Mr. Abdur Rahim's minute of dissent. There are people who still retain the conception of an older time and when 'reason and experience,' to use the Indiaman's words have not weaned them from their predilections of the Ilbert Bill days. The Indiaman is of this class, designed speciallyto represent the

The Public Services Commission.

opinions and sentiments which many Englishmen in India have abandoned as utterly impracticable and out of date. It represents the worst bigotry which has fast receded into the past as being utterly incapable of living in the present invironments of India. . . . .
The difference between the Indiaman and Mr. Abdur Rahim is that the former considers India as it was fifty years ago, while Mr. Rahim considers India as it is, as it has grown in the course of many years of British rule. . . . . .It is the Indiaman that introduces a good deal of prejudice into its estimate of Indian fitness. It denies to Mr. Abdur Rahim the merit of impartiality. . . . . .It accuses Mr. Abdur Rahim of having taken his cue from the stereotyped demands of the national movement. There could be nothing astounding if Mr. Abdur Rahim did so. He was bound to represent the opinions of his countrymen as reflected in the National Congress. He has himself fully explained this in his minute. The Indiaman is angry that Mr. Abdur Rahim has expressed the opinions of his countrymen and not the prejudices of retired Anglo-Indians.

"What is there in the Indiaman's article but abuse, abuse of the Congress, as an institution, and of Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim as a member of the Public Service Commission. It is unable to conceal its chagrin at the proposals of Mr. Abdur Rahim, which it describes as consisting of simultaneous examinations, separation of the judicial and executive functions, ample prospects for the Indian Bar, illiberal treatment of European element

in the services, lavish scholarships to train Indian candidates and draw salaries on a higher scale. And the supporters of the programme, we are told, 'have passed far beyond the stage in which appeals to reason and experience produce any effect' and, of course Mr. Abdur Rahim being of them has forfeited all claims to reason and experience. It is foolish, it is childist, for an English journal to write like this. . . . .
It condemns Mr. Abdur Rahim's minute as 'totally unworthy of the great occasion of its production.' Yet the Indiaman thought it necessary to indite a long article to condemn this worthless stuff which does not fit in with the dignity of the Public Service Commission, which does not keep with the judicial impartiality of a High Court Judge, but which becomes the garb of the advocate. And to our surprise we are told that he has held a brief for one party and he has made the fullest use of the customary privileges which an advocate. And to our surprise we are told that he has held a brief for one party and he has made the fullest use of the customary privileges which an advocate enjoys." We are, however, sure that a leading article in the Indiaman will not dispose of Mr. Abdur Rahim's minute or the claims of educated Indians, upon which he bases his programme which the journal condemns. But it will do one thing that is most undesirable. It will aggravate the feelings of race which the best-minded men among Englishmen and Indians have been doing their best to keep under restraint."

33. Political agitation in the Madras Presidency(2ndPara)

"To some extent we are afraid that the process of abuse of personal and political liberty is going on in India. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government in

this country to check such abuses and control and direct the use of such liberty into proper and healthy channels. When protest meetings are held to denounce the action of some Local Government or other about some notification preventing certain politicians from enterig their jurisdiction, the protesters forget the responsibility that rests with the Government to enforce law and to preserve order in a time of stress and storm like the present. Most of the Local Governments in India seem to be alive to their duties in this respect. If it is out of political expediency that the Madras Government are so slow in taking precautionary measures against possible political dangers, we may tell them that it is useless for them to follow this method of political diplomacy. They can never be popular with the advanced politicians in this Presidency. They could, therefore, just as well do their duty and safeguard the interests of the Province under their jurisdiction instead of trying to win popularity from the presumably political irreconcilables. We just venture to throw out this warning. The Government ought not to require any warning at all. But in spite of the warning, if undesirable consequences follow, the responsibility will rest with the Madras Government.

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Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

Brahmans and appointments in the Police.

51. The Hindu Nesan, of the 16th February, publishes the following as having appeared in the Leader of Allahabad:- There is no occasion for all to know of the provision of the undermentioned sections in the Police Regulations of the United Provinces, viz:-

Section 331:- Brahmans should never be appointed.

Section 337:- If there are already 10 cent in the armed police and 5 per cent in the ordinary police, Brahmans should not be taken into serve in these departments. Kayastas and Baniyas should never be appointed.

We do not understand what justice there is in making such regulations. There is room for men of all castes to protest against such regulations. Has the time not come yet for this meaningless, and entirely useless caste-distinction not being made?

(k) General.

The Imperial War Conference.

70. Referring to the selection of Sir Janes Meston, Sir S.P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir as representatives of India in connection with the War Conference, the Vijayavikatan, of the 3rd February, makes the following remarks:- Sir James Meston has held the post of a Governor. More than that, he has cultivated an intimate acquaintance with those who are inimical to the views of the Indians, and his selection, therefore, is not pleasing to the people. It ~~is~~ would

have been better if Lord Carmichael had been selected in his stead. Secondly, it cannot be said that Sir S.P. Sinha can speak out boldly; nor can it be said that he has till now stood out for India, and laboured for the good of the Indians. This selection, too, has not given satisfaction to the people. It would have been better, if, in his stead, Sir C. Sankaran Nayar or Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim had been selected. Thirdly, it is doubtful whether the Maharaja of Bikanir is acquainted with the views of the Indian public. He is known to falter while speaking even here. People think that it would have been better, if, instead of sending such a person, the Maharaja of Dhurbanga or of Baroda had been selected. Who is going to pay heed to this voice of the people? It is my thorough conviction that, instead of these three persons selected by the Government being sent to England to make a mess of the business, it would be better not to have any Indian members at all in the Conference.

The Imperial War Conference.

The Mahavikatadutan, of the 10th February, writes as follows on this subject:- Though representatives of Canada, Australia, South Africa and other Colonies have been invited for this conference, India, which is the brightest jewsl in the British diadem, has no separate representative in it. It appears that the Secretary of State for India, who is in a country which does not know India at all, is its representative. Three gentlemen will be sent from here to dance to his time. They will only help him and cannot express their

opinions directly. These have not been elected by the people, but nominated, at will, by the authorities. Of these, Sir James Meston will watch over the milk and be a friend to the cat as well. He is in sympathy with the Round Table party, who are taking much trouble to subject India to the rule of the Colonies also, and he is a friend of Mr. Curtis, an important member of this association. Such a man is going to speak for our people! Sir Sinha has both culture and experience. Though he belongs to the moderate party, he is favourable to the people. The Maharaja of Bikanir is also a cultured Prince, and his nomination may result in advantage to the Native Princes and the people in India. But our doubt is whether the words of these three will have any effect.

Referring to the statement by the Viceroy in his speech that the three gentlemen, who are to assist the Secretary of State for India at this conference, will be allowed to speak of India on necessary occasions, a correspondent to the Prapanchamitran, of the 16th February, remarks:- Now it is certain that these three will not be "gate-keepers". They will surely get in. But they may sit either by the side of, or probably behind, the Secretary of State. If others consent and if he too likes, the Secretary of State will ask them to speak. That is all. With all this restriction, he will merely ask them to speak. If others think that what these say is correct, they can take it, or else they may reject it. Besides, we do not know who,

among the three, will be permitted to speak and on what particular subject. If Sir James Meston is asked to express his opinion about the future constitution of India, the Round Table will appear on the scene. The Secretary of State is o~~bviously~~ also favourably disposed towards this association. So it will be very easy to subject India to the self-governing Colonies. Even Simmam(Sinha) will then bend its head down and grunt, "Time has not yet come for the Indian swaraj." The Maharaja of Bikanir will take all care as far as the Native States are concerned, and say: "Anglo-India will not agree to this; there will be a disturbance." But the Round Table will not be afraid of this. So it looks as if more harm than good will result to India by this; God only knows whether the sacred land of Bharata will be flooded with tears of joy or of sorrow.

71. The Andhrapatrika, of the 5th March, writes under this heading:-

Imperial Conference and Indian representatives.

We are at a loss to understand what good can come out ofthe representation of Sir P. Sinha, and the Maharaja of Bikanir when they cannot raise their voice in the Conference on behalf of the Indians. It is to be regretted that the Maharaja of Bikanir may have to learn by his experience in the Imperial Conference, that individuals with a sense of independence have no opportunity, as did the Maharaja of Bobbili by his experience in the Executive Council.

72. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th February, writes:-

Our position in the reformed Imperial constitution.

The idea of Mr. Curtis and others of the Round Table, which is busy framing a scheme for the future constitution of the British Empire, is that self-governing England and the Colonies should together form an Imperial Council, which would determine all matters concerning the Empire generally. But they are not for including India in this Council on the ground that it is not a self-governing country. This is not at all proper; for, we will point out that India is well fit for swaraj and that the British are themselves responsible for not introducing principles of self-government here even after 200 years of British rule. So we will plead for principles of self-government being introduced in India and her being included in the new Imperial Council. It is a known fact that eminent statesmen and military diplomats have realised in this war that India is not only the biggest and the best factor of the worldwide British Empire, but is also situated in a very important centre of Asia. We cannot even conceive of the bold attempt being made to keep out such an important country as India, and introduce a new constitution for a mighty empire. Besides this, if administration in India is to be conducted without the principles of self-government being introduced therein, and if the Colonies are to have power to consider about Indian matters connected with the army, commerce, foreign

relations, etc., along with the other Imperial affairs, will they take up sufficient responsibility for the internal administration of this country? The Colonists, who have neither experience of, nor sympathy for, India, are not the proper persons to exercise a control over her administration. This might lead to the tightening of the grip of the British bureaucrats over the Indian administration and increase their influence. Lastly, the responsibility of governing India efficiently has been entrusted to England only in the interests of India, and it is not therefore fair on the part of England to transfer her power and responsibility to her Colonies, without obtaining the consent of the Indians. It is only if India is given swaraj and raised to the level of the Colonies before the Imperial constitution is revised, that it will be established on a very strong foundation and on proper lines.

The Swadesamitran, of the 21st February, publishes a Tamil version of an article contributed by St. Nihil Sing to the Pall Mall Gazette, in which he speaks chiefly on the following heads, "India's service and help," "Indian's help not fully availed of," and "Indian leaders should be taken into consultation." Under the first head he refers to the hope sustained by the enemies in the beginning that India would cause trouble to England instead of showing loyalty, and to the subsequent disappointment felt by them as also the surprise caused to the British Government

Reforms in the Imperial constitution and India.

which had considered India a weak dependency. He then talks of the regret felt in India that her man-power and military skill, which are both largely available, have not been fully availed of, as also the help of experts who could advise on questions relating to food-stuffs and other necessary articles required for England. In conclusion, he suggests that complicated questions of great importance should be taken up for consideration in the Imperial Conference, and mentions among these the question of commerce and of emigration to the colonies.

The indentured labour system and the Ahmedabad ladies.

73. Referring to a resolution passed at a public meeting of ladies at Ahmedabad and submitted to Lady Chelmsford, which was to the effect that, considering the unthinkable and unbearable improprieties to which the Indian women sent to the Fiji Islands under the system of indentured labour are subjected, Lady Chelmsford would espouse their cause, explain the facts to the Viceroy, and make known to him that this system should be abolished, the Swadesamitran, of the 10th February, says that the steps taken by the ladies at Ahmedabad in this matter will be commended by all, and that ladies in other parts of India should also hold public meetings and make similar representations to Lady Chelmsford praying for the abolition of this system.

The indentured system of labour.

Anent the statement of the Viceroy at the meeting of the Legislative Council that our

people should have a little patience and should not be hasty in demanding the abolition of this system, a correspondent of the Prapanchamitran, of the 16th February writes as follows under the nom de plume of Bharatiputra:- Ah! What are we to say to our Viceroy who, without immediately proceeding to repeal the law, which permits of our women being driven before our very eyes into a forest devoid of chastity, wants us to wait? Is this the grandeur of western civilisation? Oh sons of Bharati! Wake up. Are you men or beasts? Will you keep quiet, if your mother is ravished? Take steps promptly to get this law repealed.

Indentured coolies.

Referring to the anti-indenture meeting held at the Gokhale Hall on the 15th February 1917, the Lokopakari, of the 19th February, writes:- Lord Hardinge stated in March last that the indenture system would soon be abolished, as he considered that it brought dishonour to the Hindus; but Lord Chelmsford, who promised to continue the policy of his predecessor in governing the country, has spoken in a manner indicating unwillingness to do so in this matter. The reason for this is his interest in the welfare of the planters in the Colonies. The Viceroy has been appointed to work for the welfare of India, and not of the British people in the Colonies; and it is surprising that this is not understood by him and by the authorities. Instead of giving a sympathetic reply to the resolution moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Viceroy stated that he was hasty, and set aside the

resolution. It is a rurprise to all that Lord Chelmsford should have spoken like this, when his duty is to safeguard the rights of the Hindus. To make a woman associate with four husbands will not be acceptable to any people belonging to whatever race or religion. It is quite improper that the British Government, which regard as being most advanced in civilization, should undertake to keep in force a system which destroys the chastity of the Indian women who are famed for being ornaments of womanly virtue. Who will say that woman's chastity can continue to be insulted for sometime longer? Will those who call themselves human beings say so? There is a growing increase in the administration of the country of such Anglo-Indians as are unsympathetic enough towards the Hindus to think, "let the chastity of Hindu women be destroyed, if need be;but the planters in the Colonies should not suffer." That is why the Hindus consider that theri grievances will be redressed, only when India obtains swaraj. It is the Government that are giving room for such views being entertained by the Hindus, but they do not realise that it is wrong for them to do so. We hope that, in future at least, they willrefrain from taking such actions as will cause dissatisfaction to the Hindus.

Indentured labour.

A correspondent to the Desamata, of the 28th February, quotes statistics to show that by the system of Indentured labour neither the condition of the coolie is improved nor does the country gain any advantage. He writes:- Can we under such circumstances send our countrymen to foreign countries while our country's honor is at stake? The Indians have been taught from their birth that honor is to be preferred

to wealth. When the Government of India is not able to maintain the honor of our countrymen emigrating to foreign lands, is it not unwise and fraught with evil to fail to abolish the system altogether?. . . . .
There is a gulf of difference between those who out of ignorance are tempted to emigrate and those who emigrate with full knowledge of all the facts connected with emigration. It is unfair to say that coolies exercise free-will. Under the present circumstances our coolies do not exercise their independent judgment. The countries to which they emigrate are the Colonies while India is a dependency. Our rulers are the brothers of the Colonials and belong to the same race. If the rulers should do the duty they owe to their subject and abolish the system they are also bound to do their duty towards their own race and so they are contemplating to introduce another system in the place of the present one.. . . .
His Excellency the Viceroy also has stated that the Indians may agree to the present system being continued for five years more. We cannot believe that this is his independent opinion. If the working classes be informed of the conditions prevailing in the Colonies, no one, however foolish he may be, will be tempted to leave his native country and forego his happiness.

Public meeting against indentured labour system.

74. Referring to the resolutions passed at this meeting held at the Gokhale Hall on the 15th February, the proceedings of which are published at length in the same issue, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th February, writes in its leader as follows:- In the present

time of great pressure caused by the war, it is not fitting for the Government of India that there should have been occasion for such unrest and dissension as now prevail; but the responsibility for the prevalence of this condition rests with them alone. In his communication to the Secretary of State for India regarding this subject, Lord Hardinge stated that the Government of India were under no necessity to consider what arrangements should be made for the supply of coolies to the Colonies in case of the abolition of the indenture system. But while speaking on this subject last week, Lord Chelmsford said that a conference would meet in London soon and consider among other things what system of labour could be introduced before the present system could be put a stop to, and how much more time it would take to remove it gradually. If he had stopped there, we might regard it as a sign of the slow action taken by the authorities. But he stated further that he should take into consideration the economic dondition of the Colonial planters, and several other political issues, and that this was not a matter which could be disposed of by a mere stroke of the pen. When this statement is considered along with the efforts made by the Colonists, the hearts of the people burn with anxiety as to when our brothers and sisters will have redemption and how long yet and by how many persons more they will be deceived into going to the Colonies to lose their morals and be enslaved. Is it not the duty of our Viceroy now to say that the system should be abolished altogether and that the assurance given by his predecessor should be carried out. Instead of doing so, he has made certain statements which indicate

some hesitation on his part, and the object of the meeting is only to make him understand that this delay cannot be tolerated by the people even for a moment longer. If it be true that our countrymen are subjects of the British Empire under the same Sovereign and governed by the same laws of administration, why should we be willing even for a moment to help one part of the Empire in making the men and women of another part labour as coolies in a condition which sets at naught their civilised notions? Our Government have full powers to stop the emigration of coolies under the indenture system altogether, and they exercised these powers a few years ago in the case of the coolies to Natal in South Africa. For them now to think of changing this policy is a thorough mistake under any stress of circumstances, and this might lead to grave dissensions, besides wounding the feelings of the people. As was well expressed by Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar, this public meeting is not for demanding any offices or participation in the administration of the country, but has been held by that some educated class, whom the authorities charge lightly with not caring for the poor people and who, unable to bear the thought of the evils and the sufferings to which these poor coolies are being subjected, seek to work for their redress. It is hoped that the Viceroy would, without any hesitation, approve the unanimous suggestion of the popular leaders all over the country and put a stop to the system immediately.

75. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th February, publishes a Tamil version of the letter

Dr. Nair on indentured labour system.

written by Dr. Nair in reply to the invitation of the Anti-Indenture League to deliver a lecture on this subject at the Gokhale Hall on the same evening. In this letter, he suggests that it should be made compulsory that only married women should go to the plantations with their husbands and that, though such a measure would cause a fall in the number of coolies at first, things will set themselves right in due course.

76. The Swadesamitran, of the 13th February, quotes one, Mr. C. Sinclair, who

Plantation coolies in Ceylon.

presided recently at a meeting of the planters of Ceylon at Kandy, to have stated that he concluded from his conversation with Mr. Marjoribanks and the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Thambi Markayar that they were sure that the complaints in Ceylon and India about the condition of the plantation coolies in Ceylon were entirely false, and adds:-- "Will the two Commissioners have said anything to create this impression in Mr. Sinclair? Would it have been proper on their part to have said so? They should have expressed their opinion first to the Government which nominated them."

77. On this subject the Swadesamitran, of the 15th February, reproduces in Tamil a lengthy

Indentured labour system in Natal.

article from the Natal journal known as the Indian Opinion, in which are discussed in detail the merits of

a circular issued by the Immigration Association containing particulars regarding the arrangements for the return to the plantations of the indentured coolies leaving Natal for India.

78. The Swadesamitran, of the 21st February, publishing what purports to be the translation of an article appearing in the Madras Mail on the duty of the Government of India in respect of this system, invites the attention of the authorities and all others to the observations made therein. On this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 21st February, publishes a Tamil version of an extract from the Englishman, and remarks:- Our friends would not have forgotten how Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, in his presidential address at the last congress, pointedly remarked whether some people who called themselves "Englishman" and "Statesman" act as is worthy of their names. Does the "Englishman" know even a few of the evils of the indenture system, that it should call the system a good one, and state that there cannot be any better system, and that it should say that Lord Hardinge was wrong in having given room to the demand for its abolition? If Lord Hardinge had not given his support, would not the complaint have assumed serious proportions? He has read the reports of eye-witnesses like Messrs. Chiman Lal, Macneil, Andrews and others, but on whose authority does this paper write?

Indentured labour system and the duty of the Government.

79. In commenting on the report of Mr. Karumuthu Tyagaraju on the condition of

Emigrants in Ceylon.

emigrants in Ceylon, the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th February, says:- Mr. Tyagaraju has made it plain that the emigration system is a system of slave trade. God knows when the Government will abolish such systems and secure an honourable life for the Indians.

80. Referring to the order issued by the Government of Madras on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 12th February, publishes an extract from an article appearing in the Kesari of Poona, of which the following is a summary:- "How can the order, issued to the newspapers against the publication of this lecture, be obeyed, when the nature of the lecture is not known? It must be impossible unless the newspapers resolved not to publish any lecture whether delivered by Mr. Wadia or some one else. For instance, if an order be issued not to admit a person named Rama into your house, and your are not told who he is or what he is, how can you act in obedience to that order? The Swadesamitran adds that though the Kesari is right in saying so, when an order is issued under the Defence of India Act, it must certainly be obeyed."

Prohibition of publication of Mr. Wadia's lecture in the newspapers in Madras.

The Swadesamitran, of the 12th February, publishes the substance of what purports to be the translation of a leader in the Bombay Chronicle protesting against the actions taken by the Government of Madras and the Government of the Central Provinces in the matter of Mr. Wadia's lecture at Amraoti.

82. In an article contributed to the Swadesamitran of the 13th February by C. Subrahmanya

Christian Missionaries on Brahmans v. Non-Brahmans.

Bharati regarding the speech delivered by Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar at the opening of the new Sanskrit College at Mylapore, the following observations occur:- The Azhwars came of various castes; and yet Ramanijar ordained that that idols could be kept in temples and worshipped. The Christian Missionaries and their disciples, who wish to mar the principles of Hinduism by telling false tales to the effect that, in ancient days, the Brahmans kept the peoples belonging to the other castes in a low condition and did harm to them, and placed them in a condition of slavery by saying that they were not fit to seek wisdom, do not, perhaps, know that Ramanuja Acharya was a Brahman.

83. The Andhrapatrika, of the 1st March, says:- The Rev. Findlay said that there can be

Christian Missionaries.

no self-government in a country which has not embraced Christianity. . . . . .Our contemporary the Allahabad Leader writes:- Mr. Nevinson wrote in a book of his:- "Christianity worked much for maintaining the authority of the rulers. The Christian Missionaries have helped the ruling and the moneyed classes to exercise their authority over the other subjects and the labourers. When their comforts were touched, they raised a hue and cry." The Rev. Findlay has confirmed the opinion that the Missionaries residing in India are only maintaining the traditions of their ancestors.

85. Referring to the public meeting held at Bombay on the 9th February to insist upon the immediate abolition of the indentured labour system, the Swadesamitran, of the 14th February, writes:- Everyone will be surprised to hear that some officers advised the people against holding this meeting, when it was proposed to be held. Why should the officers do so, seeing that the meeting was held by the people to get rid of a system, that was wounding their feelings? Whether the advice was given by these officers in their official capacity or otherwise, no one will say that it is proper. It is well known how the authorities interfered, when the Muslim League held its conference at Bombay towards the end of the year 1915, Why should the authorities interfere with public meetings of this kind?

Action of the authorities in transgression of their bounds.

86. The Swadesamitran, of the 14th February, has the following:- At the meeting of the Ceylon Legislative Council held on the 12th February, His Excellency the Governor very nicely urged the duty of everyone and every country included in the Empire to render all possible help for the war during the ensuing spring, and suggested that the non-official members might, in consultation with one or two officers in authority, consider what help could be rendered by Ceylon. A committee was accordingly appointed to act upon the suggestion of His Excellency. We do believe that every one and every country under the British

How help can best be rendered to the Empire for the war.

Empire eagerly wish to render all possible help; and it is highly worthy of praise that the Governor of Ceylon should have, in that belief, laid the responsibility on the shoulders of the non-official members. If non-official members should determine what help should be rendered, the credit of it will go to the people of the country. There is no credit in the Government taking it upon themselves. We think that, in India also, provision will be made in the budget estimate of the Government of India regarding the help to be rendered to the Empire. Credit and respect will attach to the Indians, if, as in Ceylon, the responsibility of doing it is entrusted to the non-official representative members.

87. The Vijayavikatan, of the 3rd February, publishes what purports to be a translation of the speech delivered by Bepin Chandra Pal in supporting the Home Rule resolution at the last Congress.

The Home Rule resolution in the last Congress.

89. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th February, writes:-

The Indians and the army.

Some time after the war began, the Government of India tried to form a volunteer corps with Anglo-Indians for the purpose of relieving the British regiments now stationed in important places in India. But this attempt did not prove quite successful. It might have been due to the Europeans and Anglo-Indians having been brought together in the same corps or to some other cause. Anyhow our readers, may remember that a

sufficient number of persons did not volunteer for enlistment. But we will note that there was no such impediment when, recently, an attempt was made to form a new corps from among Indians. Every one will appreciate the efforts now made by the Government of India to remedy, in a way, the serious grievances of the Indians in military matters, as the latter are equally anxious to bring this war soon to a victorious end. As a result of the repeated demand of the Indians for permission to enlist in the army, the Government granted permission to do so in Bengal alone, many months after a similar permission had been granted to the Anglo-Indians. Immediately the leaders in Bengal set to work and formed a double corps; nothing the efficiency of which the Government granted permission for the formation of another corps. Similarly permission has been given for the formation of such a corps from among the educated classes in the Punjab. Therefore the frequent assertion by some Anglo-Indian papers and some leading Anglo-Indians like Mr. Webb of Karachi that the loyalty of Indians in this war is but an empty word, has been belied now, and it has been clearly proved that the Indians are more patriotic and loyal than other classes. The Government could not have failed to note this, and we take it that it is in consideration of these things that the Viceroy has now announced that the Indians can enlist freely in the volunteer corps. This concession is quite in harmony with the progress of self-government in India; for it will not be conducive to future political progress, if the Indians are not given military training, which is quite necessary for them to enjoy the privileges of self - government and to protect the country, and if a difference

is made between them and the Englishmen in this matter. It will not be compatible with good statesmanship to make the majority of the people of an important portion of the British Empire rely upon the military support of other classes. So we trust that the Government will not fail to note, at the proper time, that, in an army formed for the defence of India, the main rights and responsibilities should be given only to the Indians. Besides arranging for the Indians to have a training in the use of arms and an equal status and influence in the army, the restrictions imposed on them by the Arms Act should also be removed.

Referring to the announcement recently made by the Viceroy in his Legislative Council regarding the admission of Indians into the India Defence Force, the Swadesamitran, of the 21st February writes as follows:- Though the Government of India did nothing when immediately on the outbreak of the war, the Indians expressed their wish to go to the battlefield on behalf of the empire and guard their own country, we are bound to be thankful that now at least the announcement has been made that Indian Volunteers will be taken. It appears that Indians will be entrusted with the responsibility of guarding India within its boundaries. While the illiterate masses are enlisted in the standing army of India, those that join the Volunteer Corps will be mostly drawn from the educated middle and upper classes. This no doubt,will, in course of time, raise the status of the Indian army generally, and it will be

Indians and Military Service.

necessary for the Indians in such Volunteer Corps to be made officers and given the higher posts. It will also be necessary to establish military colleges in which Indian officers selected from the educated classes can receive military training. The Indian Volunteer Corps should also be given equal status and other facilities without distinction of caste, creed or colour. Again Indian Volunteers should be admitted into the artillery and other forces also. If Indians could acquire honour and wealth in the army, as in other services, this new military policy will surely be productive of good. As in view of the war, all patriotic and loyal Indians will enlist in this new force and help to make it highly successful, provision should be made for its being utilised even after the war. The Indian Volunteer Corps should be permanently established, and given the right to render extensive military service in the defence of their country.

92. Referring to this speech, the Prapanchamitran, of the 16th February, observes:- Though certain portions of the speech are favourable to the Indians and will give satisfaction to them, we are not satisfied with his pronouncement about the report of the Public Services Commission and the indentured labour system. Coming to the other items referred to in his speech, while we are glad at his announcement that Indians would be permitted to enlist in the army freely, we regret to note that this concession would last only till the end of the war and that even during this period the Indian corps would be utilised only for internal defence. The speech of the Viceroy has cleared our doubt,

The Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.

whether the three gentlemen nominated by the Government to assist the Secretary of State for India in the Imperial War Conference, would be allowed to be present at the conference. Though we are glad to see that they will be allowed to be present and express their opinion, if permitted by the Secretary of State, we cannot accept the latter as the representative of India at the conference. Even as regards the three gentlemen who are to assist him, we will deem them only to be representatives of the Government of India and not those of the people. For them to speak at the conference, the Secretary of State should be pleased to permit it. Even if they speak, what they say will be heard only by the ear, but will not impress any one. Moreover, we will take the opinion of these gentlemen only to be that of a few English officials here and not that of the Indian public. The Viceroy stated that there would soon be a conference of officials to consider and give effect to the recommendations contained in the report of the Public Services Commission. Do not the public know how the desire of the Indians that the number of their countrymen in service should be increased and that of Europeans in service should be reduced, will be accomplished by a conference of English officials? If the conference is to comprise non-official Indians, we can accept it. Otherwise, a conference of English officials alone will cause only harm to us. Referring to the demand for the abolition of the system of indentured labour, the Viceroy observed that it would be continued until the capitalists in the Colonies secured labourers by other means and that it would be abolished soon.

We do not understand the meaning of the word "soon" used by the officials responsible for the Government of India. Referring to this very system of indentured labour, Lord Hardinge stated that it would be abolished "soon". Two years have since passed. Lord Chelmsford now says again that it would be abolished "soon". Does the word "soon" mean two years or twenty years? What does it matter whether the capitalists in the Colonies get labourers or not? The chastity of our mothers are thousand times, or even ten thousand times more valuable to us than the wealth or welfare of the Colonies. Our self-respect is more important to us than the progress of the Colonies. The thirty crores of people in India will do better to get drowned in the sea even now than to send labourers to the Colönes and lose their honour. We, who have to be prepared to sacrifice our body, wealth and soul for preserving our self-respect and dignity, will not care for the injury caused to the Colonies, on account of our safeguarding our self-respect and dignity. Let the Colonies prosper on perish. It is not our business to consider about it. We believe that it is the Englishmen that are bound to preserve our self-respect and dignity, and that the only remedy for all this is swaraj.

93. Adverting to the proceedings of this meeting, a lengthy report of which is published in the dame issue, the Swadesamitran, of the 12th February

The Public meeting in Madras to protest against the report of the Public Services Commission.

observes:- "Those, who watched these proceedings from start to finish, would have realised that what the Indians wanted was not a few appointments for purposes of living, but the same status for themselves in their own country as that enjoyed by others in their countries. Every one present spoke with feeling and vehemence on the Commission having based its recommendations on the principle that, if India was to be ruled well, the British officials should preponderate in service. Many were saying till now that the British spirit was necessary and that, if the Indian students lived in England for some time, they could imbibe that spirit. Will they not imbine this spirit, ~~the~~ if the competitive examination is held simultaneously in England and India and if those, who pass in India, are sent over to England for training? That the Commission should have thought that this spirit is norn with the British race, shows that it has not understood the present character of the Indians and the effect of the British training itself. While every country should be ruled mainly by its own people, there was once a necessity for India being ruled by the Europeans, who are foreigners. But considering the present capacity of the Indians, this is not at all necessary. Much of the taxes paid by the people is wasted for doing this unnecessary business. The expenditure increases, as increased salaries and leave allowances have to be given to those coming from outside. The Indians need not be paid so much salary. So the procedure adopted by the Commission of trying to see how the number of appointments held by the Indians

could be increased instead of devising means to decrease those held by the Europeans is a wrong one. Besides this, it is curious that, while the Indians have been complaining of excessive expenditure, the Commission has recommended a further increase in expenditure. The Viceroy stated that representatives from the Provincial Governments would be asked to give their opinion on the recommendations of the Commission that the British element should preponderate in service and that expenditure should be increased. As was pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao, which high official will consent to his salary being reduced, and which official will demur to certain items of his income being increased? Even granting that the representatives of the Provincial Governments are Indians, it would make no difference; for it has been proved to us during the past few years, that an official is an official, be he an Indian or a European. So the people to be consulted are non-officials. This report itself is a belated one. After it was drafted, India has undergone a rapid change. The people have realised their responsibilities and conducted themselves accordingly. They have understood their capacity and rights and are determined to obtain the latter. They can no longer be kept back. It can be seen from a speech delivered recently by Lord Islington that he, too, has realised this subsequently. As the Govennment of India are going to consider about the recommendations in this report, instead of putting it aside as having been drafted at a time when the attitude of the present-day Indians and their sense of responsibility were not known,

we will humbly point out that, unless they consult with non-officials and introduce any reform, after clearly understanding the feelings of the people, a spirit of discontent, detrimental to the progress of the country , will spread in it, and that the Government themselves will be responsible for it."

94. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th February, publishes the report of a public meeting held at Sivaganga on the 9th idem, at which, among other resolutions, the following ones are said to have been passed:- That the indenture system should be stopped at once, and the adoption of the voluntary emigration systen in its place will also be harmful; that the recommendations of the Public Services Commission should not be acted upon, when reforms are introduced in view of the necessity that has arisen for raising India to an equal status with the other countries included in the British Empire; that though Sir S.P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir are suitable men, it has caused dissatisfaction that representatives from India should have been nominated instead of being elected; and that the meeting regrets that Indian representatives are not given seats in the Imperial War Conference, and that the Madras Government have issued orders prohibiting the lecture of Mr. Wadia on the 2nd idem, and the publication of the same by the newspapers.

A public meeting at Sivaganga.

95. Referring to the telegram received regarding the order of prohibition, the Swadesamitran,

Prohibition of Mr. Tilak from entering the Punjab.

of the 17th February, writes:- Is this an indication of the way in which the Government show their appreciation of the appeal made to the people by Mr. Tilak two days ago that all should join the India Defence Force, that is being formed from the Indians, and thereby increase the strength of the Government? Again from the telegram received later, it is found that Mr. Tilak did not at all intend to go to the Punjab. The Punjab Government must have issued this order on the information furnished by the Criminal Investigation Department. If the Government should, relying on the words of the Criminal Investigation Department, apply the Defence of India Act against a person, however respectable he may be, where is the guarantee that the freedom of anyone is secure?

96. The Swadesamitran, of the 19th February, writes:-

Order of prohibition against Mr. B.C. Pal by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

All will be surprised to learn from the telegram now received that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has issued to Mr. B.C. Pal also an order of prohibition similar to that issued to Mr. Tilak. These two persons, who are labouring hard for securing Home Rule to India, have spoken in support of the resolution on that subject in the last Congress. But has there been anything in their conduct or speech then that was objectionable from the point of view of the defence of the country or of public peace? If there was, the Government have not said anything about it till now. Why, then, should the Punjab Government then issue an order of prohibition

all of a sudden to these two persons now? It should be noted that they both have denied any intention of going to the Punjab and having received invitation from any one there. This order is indeed calculated to affect the freedom which a person is naturally entitled to. If the Defence of India Act should be applied when any danger threatens the country from a military point of view, no one would object to it. The people are eager to know whether such a necessity or urgency has arisen now as to warrant the application of this Act. Apart from this, while this Act, which is in force in England also, is appliedthere in a different way and with a object, it cannot show any moderation on the part of Government to apply it in India for political purposes and in the absence of any military exigencies. The authorities know well that the freedom which is natural to man and which is the basis of the British Government should not be affected without proper reasons, yet, there is room enough for us to point it out to them again.

Students and public meetings.

97. Referring to the order issued by Sir Benjamin Robertson, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, to the effect that headmasters should prohibit studeents from attending public meetings, and that transgressers should be severely punished, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th February, makes the following remarks:- It is an old question whether students may or may not take part in political discussions. That the Chief Commissioner

should have come forward to support one side of the question all of a sudden is consistent with some other orders recently passed by him. His chief object is said to be the formation of good character in students. If he should hold the theory that their conduct would be affected by their attending political meetings here, why should not his views be spread in England and the schools there also ~~why should not his views be spread in~~ made to adopt similar measures? This country would be greatly indebted to him, if he sympathised with the aspirations of the students in the same way as he wishes that their conduct should not be spoiled. But so long as that is not the case, his object in issuing this order is only to prevent the students from cultivating the new desires which are now springing up in them.

100. The Swadesamitran, of the 19th February, observes:-

India and the war loan.

Though the help rendered by India to England in this war in body, wealth and life is to a degree by no means short of the help rendered by the colonies, it is well known that Sir John Hewett, Mr. Webb and others and certain western newspapers including the London Times have been raising the cry that not a pie is available from the Government of India by way of loan to the British Government. This cry has not yet ceased, in spite of the assertions made by responsible authorities such as the Secretary of State for India and Sir William Meyer, that India has rendered all possible help. The London Times writes as follows on this subject, thereby giving room for the inference

that perhaps the Government of India have had to yield to this cry:- "Though the armies and navies of allied countries are guarding India from harm in this great war, it is till now lagging in the matter of pecuniary assistance, and has not contributed even a rupee towards the expenses of the war. On the subject of this pecuniary help, Sir William Meyer's views are narrow and persistent. Perhaps when he desired to continue the construction of railway lines and of underground drainage channels, and to establish new schools, he thought that the great was was taking place not in this world, but in another."

103. The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd February, in its leader under this head, refers to

The Indian Defence Force.

the speech delivered by Lord Chelmsford, in his Legislative Council on the 21st idem, and to the Bill introduced by the Commander-in-Chief regarding the formation of the India Defence Force, and observes:- This Bill shows that the Government have outgrown their distrust in admitting educated Indians to the army, and in accordance with the trust which the Government now repose in them, have begun to pursue a new military policy. We must take it that the Government have now approved of the right of the Indians to receive military training for the sake of their country's defence. But it would have given boundless satisfaction and joy to all Indians, if Europeans and Indians, who join this force, have been given equal status and rights. It was stated for the Government that this force was being formed in haste and that there was not sufficient time to train Indians for officers' posts in the army. But we regret that no

assurance was held forth that such a training would be given in due course; for Indians so trained may be appointed to the posts later. If they could be sent to the college at Quetta to receive this training alone with Europeans, they might be drawn for service in the place of Europeans when occasions arise. That the Indian officers cannot be of use at present is not in itself a sufficient reason for their not being given the training at all. At all events, Indian officers might be appointed from among certain youths of (Indian) royal families, who have received training for service as military officers and who form the "Imperial Cadet Corps." We trust that the Government will redress this great grievance before the Bill passes into law.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 1st March, says:- Mixed birth or Christianity is taken as a qualification for admission into an army for defending the country, and not genuine patriotism and loyalty. In the matter of defending the country, everyone who is competent, deserves the confidence of the rulers without distinction of caste or creed. It is regrettable that the Commander-in-Chief did not well consider the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma and others who said that the observing of distinctions in appointments and in the army would cause unrest. . . . . It is not any advantage but patriotism that drives the Indians eo enlist themselves as volunteers. The first duty of the people is to defend the country. Whether

The Indian Defence Force.

the rulers give high military appointments or not, it is the Indian's own duty to sacrifice his life in defence of the country. The time has now arrived to do it. On us lies the responsibility of availing ourselves of the opportunity for serving the country and defending the Empire. . . . . .We trust that the Andhras will realise the need of the country and their own duty, join the proposed army in thousands, and maintain their reputation.

A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 1st March, says:-

An Indian Defence Force.

All the Calcutta leaders are of opinion that, in forming the India Defence Force, it is necessary to offer the Indians the same terms as are offered to Europeans. Mr. Pal said that in the army the Indians should be assigned an equal status with the Europeans, that equal opportunities should be extended to them to get higher appointments, and that if the Indians should join the army on any other terms, it would be an admission on their part that they are inferior to the Europeans. Mr Pal stated in a letter of his, that he neither intended to go to the Punjab nor was he invited there. We suppose under such circumstances that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who passed the order prohibiting Mr. Pal from entering that Province, must have been dreaming. . . . . .He will do well to obtain a copy of Mr.Pal's "Nationalism and Empire", and study it to correct his errors.

106. Referring to the words of Mr. Chamberlain that by certain alterations in the laws of the Colonies, the status of indentured coolies has improved, the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th February, says under this heading:- We cannot understand the meaning of the sweet words of Mr. Chamberlain when in this country the question of indentured labour is agitating the minds of all. He, perhaps, spoke so in order to bind beforehand the months of parliamentary members who may put him questions on this matter. So many Europeans go to the Colonies from Europe for employment. They have no disabilities. Why should the Indians have them? The reason is we are powerless and have no voice. The soul of man is more valuable than many crores of rupees. Is it not for establishing justice that the British are sacrificing large amounts of money and lakhs of lives. Who cares whether the Colonies profit or not by the system of indentured labour which is injurious both to justice and to the Indian nation? Mr. Chamberlain has to understand the root principle of the grievance of the people. We hope that Lord Chelmsford will have a keen eye on the honour of the Indians and on his duty as a man and write to Mr. Chamberlain telling him that it is necessary to abolish the system of indentured labour.

Mr. Chamberlain's perverse opinion.

126. The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 28th February, on the marginally-noted subject, writes:- The British Government has issued an epoch-making notification this week. This spectacle of organised strength will coil the military ardour of the Central

Recruiting in India.

Powers. Germany prides herself on her militarism and even after sustaining countless losses she is sending her forces from East to West. Although she has not yet been firmly established in any field her vanity is still great and she thinks that by the concentration of her enormous forces she can overpower her opponents. But daily happenings are disillusioning her.

The compulsory enlistnment of all European subjects has commenced in India.

The editor, in giving the number of European subjects that have hitherto joined up, refers to the recruiting of volunteers and adds that hitherto the people of India have been excluded from volunteering their services in spite of the fact that their desire was to do so. However the proclamation, permitting Indians to volunteer, is hailed with joyful acclamations in every part of the country and Indians are expressing unbounded enthusiasm. Committees are being formed in various places and leaders have commenced their endeavours to make enlistment successful in schools, colleges and offices.

The present procedure augurs well for a big army in a short time.

The editor in commenting at length on the question says that it is possible that this citizen army will render signal service and Germany who was under the impression that her spies would engineer a revolution in this country will learn to her sorrow that loyal India is ever ready to blast her hopes and to assist in encompassing her defeat.

130. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 2nd March, has the following:-

Military service and patriotism.

If at the present moment Indians will only gird up their loins and join the volunteers in large numbers for local service they can relieve the regular troops of garrison duty and send them to the front against the enemy chanting the song of victory.

III. Legislation.

132. The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th March, has the following remarks under the above heading:-

The Press Act: Deputation to the Viceroy.

It is essential for the welfare of a country that its press should be protected from repressive laws and Executive Acts. Act I of 1910 has destroyed the liberty of the press. It has conferred unlimited powers on the Executive authorities, and rendered difficult the conducting of newspapers and the keeping of printing presses. The protection of just rights is the fruition of British rule. Mr. Balfour has recently observed that the ideal of British rule is "the extension of liberty in all the departments of life in the world." But the Press Act is opposed to this. . . . . Sir H. Risley said, at the time of the framing of the Bill, that its object was "to regulate the newspapers and the printing presses so that protection may be afforded to the rulers from anarchists that incite to hatred against the British Rule." It appears that the

object of the legislature is the punishment of anarchists but not the violation of the liberty of the press. . . . . .It is neither just nor prudent to impose restraints on all on account of a few. . . . . .Though the pamphlet published by Mr. Muhammad Ali, and all the articles of New India are not pervaded by sedition a penalty has to be imposed on them. Sir L. Jenkins has observed that anything may be brought under the penalising section at the will of the authorities and thus has been confirmed by New India case. Some Criminal Investigation Department Officer picks up faults in a paper. The rulers empower the executive to take action. The Magistrate demands a security-- Rs.2,000 for the first time and Rs.5,000 for the second. A third time, the press is confiscated. This Act introduces a conflict between duty and the self-interest in the task of conducting papers. . . . . .A free expression of ideas is attended with a fear of loss, and failure, thereof, of breach of duty. The vernacular press labours most under this disability. . . . . If the Viceroy meant to justify the application of the Press Act, it would be bett r not to have received the deputation,. . . . . There prevails a difference of opinion between the rulers and the ruled in the matter of Indian political problems. . . . The High Court Judges differed from one another in their opinion about the seditious nature of the articles of New India. It is inadvisable that the Viceroy should attempt to fix the standard in matters where opinions

differ. . . . . His arguments in favour of the retention of the Press Act may be rebutted. . . . . The Viceroy has taken advantage of his high office, and preached a sermon, as a preceptor to his desciples. Policy required conciliatory spirit and not a dry discourse. His Majesty King George V, approached by the deputation, would not have given such a strange reply. . . . . . . The Viceroy has failed to recognise that, in a country like India, there will naturally be two points of view--the bureaucratic, and the popular. His reply has caused complete disappointment and regret.

133. ~~The~~ Defence of India Act. (5th para)

Defence of India Act.

Referring to the resolution brought in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the appointment of a Committee of enquiry and an amendment to the effect that it should include an Indian High Court Judge, an Indian Lawyer and a Sessions Judge to enquire into the charges brought against ~~L~~ political suspects, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd February, makes the following remarks:- It is well known how the enforcement of this Act causes trepidation to the people, and it is necessary for them to have direct assurance that it does not prejudice the proper administration of justice. The demand for this committee is therefore one coming from the general public and is only reasonable. But the Government have set aside both the resolution and the amendment. What is their reason? They say that no one is kept under surveillance except upon definite information, and to place such confidential information before the committee is not proper. Let us see how this information is obtained. It is first gathered by the

Criminal Investigation Department regarding the conduct and movements of particular persons, and is conveyed to the higher authorities step by step. Can it be said that facts which come to the knowledge of such various officers are confidential? If it be taken that these would not betray the confidence, we do not know how the confidence will be betrayed by the committee of enquiry or by non-official Indians? Lord Chelmsford stated yesterday that he was anxious to confide in the Honourable Members and bring facts to their knowledge; but now the Government say that confidential fact cannot be made known. While such a committee exists in England and everything is confided to them, it is regrettable that such a thing should not be done here. An Anglo-Indian paper of this city says that a mad dog should be killed at once. Shout it not be ascertained that the dog is actually mad before it is killed? "Behead a man after enquiry," is the proverb.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th February, says:-

The Defence of India Act.

It is plain from experience that to apply the Defence of India Act to purposes of interning students and patriots and of restraining the freedom of movement of the latter is against the policy of the rulers expressed at the time of its passing. It will be just to enforce it against disloyal Indians, but it is not so to enforce it against anybody without making out a case against him. By applying the Act in matters unconnected with war and disloyalty, the people are deprived of their

natural liberty. It creates unrest in the country to throw obstacles in the way of patriots who are engaged in constitutional agitation. In the meeting held yesterday at the Gokhale Hall, it was resolved that to prohibit Messrs. Tilak and Pal from entering the Provinces of the Punjab and Delhi and to impose solitary confinement on political offenders as on ordinary offenders were contrary to law. The rulers of the Madras Presidency deserve praise for not having put the provisions of the Act into force till now, and we hope that they will show the same discrimination in future.

The Indian Defence Act:

Referring to the Indian Defence Act, the Keralodayam, of the 6th March, points out that the changing of the definition of Whitemen (? European British subjects) in the Criminal Procedure Code so as to include all Europeans therein, is injurious to the Indians and dangerous to their future, and that the regrettable rejection of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's resolution, relating to the granting of commissions to Indians, makes it doubtful whether the Secretary of State's statement, that the Viceroy has agreed to it, is correct, and thinks that it would be disgraceful to those who clamour for self-government to say that the Europeans should do the duties connected with the defence of the empire. In this connection it draws attention to Mr. Tilak's observation that those who are not prepared to defend their own country, do not deserve self-government.

Writing on the same subject, the Manorama, of the 6th March, points out that this is the first time that the Indians have been given the privilege of enlisting themselves in the army for the defence of their mother country, for which, it says, they should be grateful to the Government, and exhorts all patriotic, loyal, and able-bodied Indians to make the most of the opportunity now given to them, without minding at all any distinction that may be made between them and Europeans in respect of pay or status, as these are not matters worthy of consideration in critical times, or when one's own country has to be defended.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 17TH MARCH 1917.

No. 11 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

2. The Criminal Investigation Department and ~~Departme~~ Political agitators." (2nd para)

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 14th March, says:- "The ecen monotony of the proceedings of the Legislative Council was somewhat disturbed during the discussion of the Resolution recommending a reduction in the charges for the Criminal Investigation Department. ~~The Hon'ble Mr. Gilman went out of his way to justify the existence of the department.~~ The Hon'ble Mr. Gilaman went out of his way to justify the existence of the department and indulged in some reflections which were out of place. The ways and methods of the Criminal Investigation Department in dealing with Indians who take a prominent part in politics are notoriously objectionable and compromising to the dignity and the reputation of Government. It is believed not without substantial reason that action recently taken against certain publicists has been the result of reports carried to Government by the Criminal Investigation Department which have been proved to be absolutely unfounded and false. Mr. Gillman's

speech was marked more by zeal--mistaken in its purpose--than by discretion, and the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao did well in pointing out the insidious way in which members of the secret police were let loose to watch political workers of even established reputation. Mr. Gillman in his reply promised to see whether some reform could not be introduced in respect of this matter, but we are by no means sure that any good will result unless the spirit of the Government changes. We are unable to see the point in His Excellency the President's remarks in objecting to the trend of Mr. Ramachandra Rao's remarks. Lord Pentland is not unaware of the procedure in the House of Commons when, during the discussion on the vote of supplies, debates on questions of principle are started by members by proposing the reduction of insignificant amounts from the pay of some official or other the work of whose department is sought to be criticised. It is just this practice that is attempted to be followed in Indian Legislative Councils, and we had thought that it has been fairly well established here. His Excellency's known anxiety about the business reputation of his Council often leads him to mistakes and we cannot think that interruptions of this kind which occurred at least twice yesterday, are really conducive to the growth and development in Indian Councils of precedents and practices well-established in the House of Commons."

Justice of the 14th March, observes:- "The resolutions in the Madras Legislative Council taken as a whole were not of absorbing interests. A good many of them related to old subjects which were under discussion in the Council and upon which no fresh dry light was thrown by the movers concerned. . . . . .The resolution calling for a reduction of half a lakh under the head, Criminal Investigation Department, requires a word of comment. It elicited two or three speeches on the general principle involved. The mover of the resolution seems to have confined himself to an enunciation of the principle, that only such work as could not be undertaken by the regular police should be entrusted to the secret police. We fully appreciate his position. But the difficulty in this case is one in regard to which there will be difference of opinion. Under ordinary conditions and with respect to matters bearing on the general course of life of a community and of a Government, the line of action is clear enough. Prevention and the punishment of crime could in normal timesbe safely entrusted to the ordinary police. But when the interests of the State and the community require to be protected on all sides against their enemies plotting in secret and in odd corners, the methods of the ordinary police would be found ineffective. We have, indeed nothing to add to what the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman said about the duties of the Criminal Investigation Department; nor do we object to any word or expression he employed. He hit off the situation well enough, and there was no need to protest against the tone he adopted.

He assumed the correct attitude, and so far as we could see there was no protest at all. In a matter like this antiquarian researches will not help us. We take things as they are, as we find them today. The Criminal Investigation Department exists not to defy but to protect the community. It is a necessary evil, if we may say so. . . . . .As in the regular police and elsewhere there may be undesirables in the Criminal Investigation Department, and self-respecting and law-abiding members of the public, who have the opportunity, should help the Government to week out of the service those who ought not to belong to it. The Jack in office is a peculiar being. Dressed in little brief authority, he is prone to exaggerate his own importance or misuse his own authority. But the members of the public have also their responsibility. They should see that young and inex;erienced minds are not inflamed with visionary ideas about their immediate future. In a progressive community there will occasionally be political excitement and it is well that there should be such excitement. But those who are intolerant of difference of opinion and who do not endeavour to reform the existing system but to undermine it altogether, must be prepared to face the consequences of their own rashness; and it is the duty of every responsible and loyal citizen to assist the Government in the task of preserving l aw and order and their own authority."

The Indian Patriot, of the 14th March, writes:- The Hon'ble Mr. A.S. Krishna Rao's resolution on the

Criminal Investigation Department took an unexpected turn in the hands of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao, but the responsibility lay with the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman who appealed to the public not to suspect the Criminal Investigation Department, as some newspapers had done, and asserted that the work on which the Criminal Investigation Department, was engaged was very onerous. This naturally led Mr. Ramachandra Rao to give some striking details as to how public workers were being shadowed. We are glad that His Excellency did not interfere with the speech, although he could have done, for the Government now know what they did not know before, about the annoying ways the secret police have. The ways of the Secret Police are no secret at all. And when public men are shadowed and annoyed, it is a public grievance. There is much waste of money in meeting the travelling charges of constables and officials who have to go behind 'Swadeshi Narayana Rao'. We are thankful to the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman for the assurance that, if instances are brought to his notice, annoying interferences would be terminated. But the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao referred to a particular instance in which a representation had been made to the Inspector-General of Police, but which had brought neither reply nor relief. We suppose representations made to the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman will share better fate. Our own impression is that there is much merry travelling and enjoyable tours for Criminal Investigation officials in the name of political suspects. All kinds of people are watched and

pursued, and quite unnecessary irritation is caused to public workers. If the Criminal Investigation people would shadow people without being known, it would be something; but to raise a hue and cry when Swadeshi Narayana Rao visits the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao's house, or to ask every passenger in a railway train whether a particular person was travelling, is positive nuisance. The sooner the work of theze officials is readjusted to secrecy the better for the reputation of the Secret Police."

(k) General.

25. In concluding an article on "India and the War Loan", Justice, of the 7th March, says:-

Political agitation and the war.

"Lord Willingdon in his speech at Bombay touched upon another subject in this connection on which we should like to offer a comment. We endorse every word said by him about the new political propaganda. It has been inaugurated at a most inopportune moment. We are afraid that Lord Willingdon is misinformed if he thinks that a large number of the educated men of India are engaged in it. Taking the Madras Presidency alone, what do we find? It is only a small section of the educated classes, nearly all of whom could be brought under the same group, who have availed themselves of the present opportunity to make impracticable demands. The people as a whole, the stable elements in the population, remain untouched and unmoved. If, at any time in the future, they, or any section of them, are affected by the new political creed, the responsibility for it must be brought home to the authorities concerned. Most of those

who have turned propagandists of the new description, are drawn from the very class the political interests of which the Government have been steadily advancing, often to the exclusion of those who deserve better at the hands of the Government. We do not propose to speak with authority about the political condition of other provinces. Political progress is, of course, a necessity, but the time chosen for starting the new propaganda is such that, unless those who are in authority discountenance it, both directly and indirectly, alike in their own in erests and in the interests of the people, the progress the country has been making will itself receive a set back."

Writing further on this subject, Justice, of the 9th March, remarks:- "Speaking at a public meeting in Bombay on the 5th Instant, His Excellency Lord Willingdon made the following appeal to the educated Indians. He said that there were a certain section of the public who under the leadership of some influential people were promoting a political propaganda. He asked them to consider what would be the feelings of the empire, especially the citizens of the motherland, if they found that at this critical moment a large number of educated men of India were engaged in a political propaganda when every nerve should be strained in the one object of winning the war. These men were prejudicing what he held to be the just claims of India for a fuller and fair partnership in the empire. . . . . .There may be those who agree with the

political propaganda at present carried on by a certain section of educated Indians. There may be those who disagree with it; but there can be no two opinions on the fact that the political propaganda in question as the present time is inopportune. The skill and responsibility of political leadership consists as much in directing political agitation as in choosing the proper time for carrying on such agitation. But unfortunately in India there are two reasons that have prevented the proper selection of the moment for political activities. In the first place the prime mover in the present political agitation in India for Home Rule is not an Indian but a foreigner, with no great stake in the country ~~are-of-secondary-importan--------~~ and no direct responsibility to its people. . . . .
Such leaders are naturally more concerned with themselves; the interests of the country are of secondary importance to them. The second obstacle in the way of a judicious selection of the proper time for a political movement is that the majority of Indian politicians will find their occupation gone if a break is made in the usual political agitation to which they are accustomed. . . .
. . . . .What we have never been able exactly to understand is why the responsible political leaders in the country were so easily led away and captured by foreign adventurers with no large stake in the country. If Indian politicians cannot display greater judgment, greater self-reliance, greater independence of thought and action, we are afraid they can never be considered fit for self-government or Home Rule.--Both Lord Willingdon in his speech at Bombay and the Viceroy in his reply to the Indian Press Deputation, specially pointed out that the present time is inopportune;

but if their Lordships had only waited to consider the fact that the whole of the prexent agitation for Home Rule had its existence since England declared war against Germany, they would understand the nature of the propagandists whom they were addressing. If only Viceroys and Governors understand these facts a little better, perhaps they would speak in a different tone to the organisers of these political movements."

26. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 7th March, states:- "The Viceroy and the Press Deputation seem to have played the candid friend to each other, and neither employed language to conceal thought. There was considerable outspokeneness on either side and unlike the gene al run of deputations which end in a profusion of hand-shakes and in no party being the wiser for the show, the Press Deputation will know what exactly can be expected of the Government of India just now in regard to the Press Act. . . . . .Justifications apart, there can be no denying that the Press Act is unduly severe in some of its provisions and affects the honest journalist along with the yellow variety against whom it is principally directed, and we have no doubt that under better conditions, the Government will be disposed to remove some of the more drastic provisions. But the present is not the time to enter into a controversy with the Government on the question, and we are sure better luck will await the Press Association if they moved in the matter when conditions became more favourable."

The Press deputation.

Justice, of the 8th March, writes:- "The late Mr. Robert Wallace, who was some time member of Parliament for East Edinburgh, once classified friends into candid and sugar-candied. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, judged by his speech in reply to the memorial of the Indian Press Association deputation, seems to be a real and candid friend of India. It is not often that we get such straightforward utterances from persons in high authority. Political expediency very often converts what ought to be a candid utterance into a sugar-candied one. But on this occasion His Excellency has adopted a policy of taking his audience into his confidence and having a straight talk with them, which might well be imitated by others similarly placed. . . . . .The genesis of the present Press Deputation must be looked for in New India case. 'When beggars die no comets are seen' The Macedonian pamphlet case was not honoured by a Press Deputation to the Viceroy, but New India case stands entirely in a different category. It is quite ~~eiv-~~ evident that the present agitation for the abolition of the Press Act had its origin in the action of the Madras Government against Nwe India. We are afraid that the Madras Government bungled and bungled clumsily in proceeding against New India under the Press Act. No man in his senses, who is armed with a good stick, will tackle a cobra by dropping the stick and taking the cobra by the tail. Yet that was exactly what the Madras Government did. The Madras Government had very good reasons for taking action against the keeper of New India press, but the action taken ought to have been different. . . . . .The so-called Home Rule movement had its origin in 1915, i.e., a year after the war had broken out, and therefore that group of politicians who are associated with New India will by choice

select this time for their agitation. His Excellency in his short experienceof India ought to have known that. We are glad that Lord Chelmsford has dealt with the deputation firmly and politely. There is one passage in His Excellency's speech which requires a little more public attention. His Excellency said that the function of a judge is not to say what the law ought to be but what it is. Unfortunately you will, in India, meet with judges here and there who would say what the law ought to be, instead of confining themselves to their proper funxtion of saying what the law is. The fact of the matter is that in India, as yet, Indian judges of a certain class have not all of them learned to detach themselves from their political surroundings. Most of them, perhaps, before their elevation to the High Court Bench were politicians When a public man takes upon himself to say what the law ought to be, he is a judicial politician; but when he carries that habit on to the judicial bench, he becomes a political judge. We welcome judicial politicians, but we object to political judges. In this matter we do not think that Indian judges are entirely to blame. . . . . .Of late years a new attraction to politics has been offered to Indian High Court Judges. By the selection of Indian High Court Judges as members of the Executive Councils in India, the Government have emphatically established the existence of political judges in this country. A politican, when he is elevated to the High Court Bench in England, usually gives up politics for good. To him his old political associations become a thing of the past, a matter of memory. But in India one can seldom do so. An Indian High Cou t Judge is looking forward to the time when he can exchange the High Court bench for the Council Chamber.

Such a man can never give up his political ideas or his political associations. He remains an active politician carefully watching the march of events in the Council Chamber. Can yoy blame such a human being if he now and again displays, unconsciously it may be, on the High Court bench something of what he feels in his inner mind? We are convinced that the Government are more responsible for the existence of political judges in India than even those judges themselves.

To an ordinary man in the street what is most evident is that some High Court Judges are seen prominently everywhere. In a political movement they are seen behind the scenes, in everything else they are in the forefront. . . . . .His Excellency the Viceroy has done well in drawing pointed attention to the existence of political judges in India. Having done that, it is His Excellency's duty to try and remedy the evil as far as lies in his power. If the Government w ll make a move in the matter, we are sure that there will be a corresponding movement on the part of the public. The existence of the Press Act may be an unpleasant fact, but the knowledge that there are political judges is a far more disturbing factor. Both ought to be remedied. We consider that the latter ought to be treated before the former. On the whole, the reply of His Excellency to the Press Deputation is a satisfactory one. We knew very little of Lord Chelmsford before he became Viceroy of India. We must confess that, after reading some of his speeches in Calcutta and especially after reading his latest utterance, we have begun to like him."

In commenting further on this subject, Justice, of the 10th March, says:- "Cunning or candour--which is wanted in this time of storm and stress? Lack of diplomacy and restraint has been attributed to His Excellency the Viceroy, for he told the Press Deputation straightaway that the time chosen for pressing the repeal of the Press Act was most inopportune. Diplomacy will do very well at a time of peace and leisure when there are no heavy stakes to risk. Truth-telling is always repulsive to those that are accustomed to soft sawder. But the Viceregal time is now too precious to be frittered away."

The Hindu, of the 10th March, remarks:- "The general public are apt to accept as absolutely accurate the statements contained in the Viceroy's lengthy speech in reply to the Press Deputation, considering that they are made by the responsible head of a great government, who has at his disposal all the materials for arriving at right conclusions. As pointed out in the Commonweal Lord Chelmsford cites, with approval, the following observations of Mr. Justice Ayling in connection with an article by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal published in New India, which he held to fall under the terms of the Press Act. . . . . .The other two learned Judges, viz., the Acting Chief Justice Abdur Rahim and Mr. Justice Seshagiri Ayyar held that the article in question did not fall under the Press Act. . . . . .His Excellency the Viceroy has entirely ignored in his speech the views of these learned Judges and the substantive decision of the High Court by a majority, on the question at issue, viz., the culpability or otherwise of the article of Bepin Chandra Pal. . . . . .The point

is of much importance as if the true facts had been placed before Lord Chelmsford, he may not improbably have refrained from criticising the High Court Judges with the amount of freedom and disrespect which he indulged in. . . . . .The majority of the court having held that it was unobjectionable, that finding is binding upon all not excluding the Viceroy."

29. Sir S.P. Sinha.

Justice, of the 9th March, observes:- " It is the fashion with some estimable people to say that only elected Indians are competent to represent their countrymen and that as Sir S.P. Sinha is a nominated representative of India, he could be no authorised spokesman of the people. But who are the electors? That is the question first to be considered. The Legislative Councils are but nominally representative of the people. Take the Madras representatives on the Imperial Legislative Council. Whom do they represent? The bulk of the population of this Presidency cannot see eye to eye with them on most of the important topics of day, and yet they sit on the Council as the spokesmen of the forty-one and half millions of this Presidency! What is true of Madras is equally true of other Provinces. The first question then to be settled in connection with the next scheme of constitutional reforms is the creation of a really popular electorate, an electorate composed of the responsible classes in the country. Such an electorate must include not by implication, but directly

a large proportion of the stable elements in the population. Until an electorate of the kind is constituted, nominations of representatives by such a wise, sagacious and strong ruler as Lord Chelmsford would be more satisfactory than elections by a league of politicians."

36. The Hindu, of the 13th March, writes:- "Under the authority vested in them by

The prohibition of emigration.

tge Defence of India Act, the Government of India have prohibited the emigration of hired Indian labour from India. There is one proviso to this rule that the prohibition shall not extend to any person or class of persons permitted so to depart by a general special license granted by such authority as the Governor-General may appoint in this behalf. One definite result of this prohibition is that indentured emigration will at once cease. It is not clear whether this important decision has been arrived at owing to want of shipping facilities or in pursuance of the pressure of Indian public opinion regarding the immediate abolition of the system, which the Viceroy may feel unable to do away with on his own responsibility. Whatever/ it is, the decision is bound to be far-reaching in its results, and we hope that it will pave the way for the end of the system."

Writing under the heading "Joyful News" New India, of the 13th March, says:- "The Defence Act of India has at last been used for a good end-- the immediate stoppage of the emigration of Indians with the intention

of labouring for hire beyond seas. Indian public opinion has won the day, and both indentured and recruited labour have ceased. Why the Defence of India Act was used instead of the Emigration Act is not said, and does not much matter for the moment. The Governor-General in Council has responded to the demand of India, and has struck down the accursed system. It is probable that having thus sharply stopped the abuse of emigration, the Government will consider the whole question, and we shall hope to see an Act introduced on the lines of that which passed its second reading the other day in the 'Madras Parliament.' Lord Chelmsford has acted with great courage and decision, and India owes him gratitude. What a comfort it is to see the Government answering India's demand, and acting as a Home Rule Government would act."

The Wesnesday Review, for the week ~~ebd-n~~ ending 14th March, remarks:- "News comes of the prohibition of Indian labour to foreign countries as a war measure under the Defence of India Act. The Government have ruled that no native of India shall depar by sea out of British India for the purpose of or with the intention of labouring for hire in any country beyond the limits of India. . . . . .The action of the Government is of far-reaching significance, and though the prohibition is made under the Defence of India Act, we dare say it is also in deference to the growing volume of protest against the indenture system. We are disposed to regard it as something more than a war measure, and it seems that we have really heard the last of the indenture system. Lord Chelmsford's Government have done the wisest thing under the

circumstances, for which they have earned the abiding gratitude of the millions of India. Apart from the rights of an Indian to go to any portion of the British Empire and earn a living there, no Indian need go out of his country for a livelihood. There is enough scope for every son of the soil to live and work in the country itself, and the question of Indian labour, indentured or not, to any other part of the world need not confront us at all."

38. The following appears in the Indian Patriot of the 13th March:-

India's contribution to the war.

"Quite an acrimonious discussion has been raised by a section of the Anglo-Indian press over the resolution of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for a modification of the method proposed for making a suitable contribution towards the cost of the war. It is clear that Sir William Meyer was opposed to any fresh demand being made on India for the purpose, because every one knew, though every one did not admit, that India had made ample contribution. Certain people were, however, bent on coercing India to pay more. The full hope in the country was that the Government of India would stand firm. . . . . .Even to the gift there would have been no objection if the gift had been voluntary or if, at any rate, Indian opinion had been consulted. Nobody cared to know what Indian opinion was and to respect it. The Government of India and Secretary of State mangged it entirely between themselves. The

general public in India knew nothing; the members of the Imperial Legislative Council knew nothing; and what had been rumoured as more than likely was realised when Sir William Myer presented his budget. Why was it that no pains were taken to ascertain the opinion in the country. . . . . .If India is to make any gift, either it must be done by the people themselves or by those acting in their behalf. And when there is the Imperial Legislative Council in session, the Government of India ought not to have taken it on themselves to make a gift of a hundred million pounds in the name of India. . . . . .It is well that our critics understand that the people of India or their representatives were not responsible for initiating the project or for carrying it out. . . . .
The voice of the busy critics has prevailed over the Government of India, and over the people of India; and the people's part appears to be merely that of interested on-lookers. Nobody, certainly no Indian, wishes to object to the gift; but what was the harm in making the gift in a regular, constitutional way?. . . . .
The obligation which, everyone feels, is imposed upon him to abstain from insisting on his rights at this particular time ought not to encourage anybody to set at naught ordinary requirements of constitutional procedure. . . . . .Let the position be clearly understood. Let it be understood that the public of India had not been consulted as it should have been before offering a contribution towards the war."

Justice, of the 16th March, observes:- "We noticed in the Hindu for the second time yesterday a grumbling at the contribution of £100,000,000 by India towards the expenses of the war. Yesterday the Hindu said 'so far as this huge sum is concerned, it was voted away by the Government without a word of consultation with the representatives of the Indian people.' The Indian people who contribute the overwhelming bulk of the Indian revenues readily and willingly agree to this contribution. It is a very small price indeed to pay for the security which they enjoy for the protection of their property out of which these revenues are paid and for the security of their homes from ou rages similar to what are perpetrated in Belgium, in Serbia and in Poland. Those who contribute the revenues consent to this contribution freely, and the owners of real property in India cheerfully consent to pay £100,000,000 partly in the interest of the frothy politician, to save him from the trouble of having to learn German language and law and having to make the painful discovery that Von Bissing is not such a very soft Governor to deal with as Lord Pentland."

42. United India and Native States, for the week ending 15th March, writes:-

The Panchamas.

"Addressing the students of Vizianagram, Mr. H.S.L. Polak said that it was only a short time ago he had read 'with pain' that no less than 300 people in one village recently embraced the Christian religion. That incident, remarked Mr. Polak somewhat epigrammatically,

was glorious to the Christians but scandalous to the Hindus. That might be so, but why Mr. Polak should affect to feel pain by an event which would tend to the unmistakable elevation of these South Indian helots is more than we can understand. But he hoped to see the day when Hinduism would do for these outcastes What Christianity has been doing far a long time. We are sure that Christians will be the first to rejoice if Hinduism would do some amends for its past outrageous policy towards the Panchamas by taking in hand the task of ameliorating the wretched condition of these forlorn outcastes, and we hope with Mr. Polak that Hindus will strive to elevate the Panchamas in the same spirit which has animated Christian Missions for so many years."

Lancashire and the Indian cotton duty.

43. In a leader under t e heading "Melancholy Meanness" the Hindu, of the 16th March, says:- "The situation created by the controversy over the increase of duty on imported cotton goods, as a consequence of the contribution by India of a hundred millions sterling to the British Exchequer, is full of danger to India and gives rise to reflections of a very melancholy character. The opposition set up on behalf of Lancashire manufacturers has no novelty about it; it has appeared and succeeded to a considerable extent whenever justice was sought to be done to Indian interests. But the fact that prominent statesmen in England Mr. Asquith, Mr. Runciman and their political friends, have extracted a promise from the Prime Minister that the increase in

duties will be reconsidered, along with other fiscal problems, after the war, has introduced an element of potential danger in the vexed question which threatens to embitter feelings more than ever between India and England; India's part in the war is described in very flattering terms in England, but when it is a matter of translating this generous appreciation into action, a fit of paralysis would appear to seize the British people. . . . . .The incidents connectidn- with the present episode bear an eloquent testimony to the truth that the interests and rights of India are not likely to be appreciated, much less recognised, if such appreciation meant touching the pockets of manufacturers in England. . . . . It means that England is grateful for the gift and welcomes it; but she reserves t e right to consider, after the war, whether India should continue to derive the income from the source which has been specifically created to meet this heavy liability. Three decades and more will pass before every penny of this stupendous debt is fully discharged, and is England to come up and say, after the war, that India shall repeal the increased cotton duties imposed at present and arising from the contribution, because reconsideration involves, it must be clearly understood, the possibility of repeal. If abolition is decided upon, will the new burden on India be protanto reduced? We fear not, as the gift is supposed to be a 'free' one. The political injustice involved in

such a step, the moral degeneracy which alone can inspire it and the serious consequences which will flow in creating soreness and discontent in India, from adopting that course, are considerations which should make any right-minded person dread the repeal of the increased cotton duties. . . . . .It urged that the increase was an injustice to Lancashire interests. This is a grossly false statement, and we are amazed at the hardihood of the members who made it. . . . . It is not an exhilarating task to go into the disgusting details of this question and the part played by responsible authorities in respect of this matter. . . . . .That such miserable exhibition of selfishness should be made at the present day, when India has been making such tremendous sacrifices, shows how impossible it is to get economic justicedone to India. Should it be wondered then that enlightened Indian opinion is insistent on getting a form of Government for their country under which such patent and gross injustice will be impossible.?"

Writing under the heading "Patriotism," New India, of the 16th March, remarks:- "The representatives of Lancashire told Mr. Austen Chamberlain that the small instalment of justice to India in the increased import duty on their cotton goods 'might prejudice Lancashire's efforts in the war if the duties were persisted in'. Such is patriotism as against pocket! . . . . It is a little amusing to hear

Mr. Chamberlain express a hope, after this declaration from Lancashire, that in the fiscal policy after the war, India will bear in mind her Imperial obligations and responsibilities. Why should she, if England does not? The House of Commons approved the duties in order to grab the hundred million 'gift' and accepted Mr. Asquith's clever amendment to 'reconsider' the duties after the war, i.e., to consieer the revocation after the 'gift' had been secured. We must say that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, who accepted the amendment, and the Parliament which agreed to it have reached the ne plus ultra of meanness in their dealings with India."

44. Justice, of the 16th March, has the following:-
India's Political outlook. "The 'Hindu's' bluster.

"The Hindu has got excited over Dr. Nayar's lecture delivered at the Victoria Public Hall on Wednesday the 14th. In a leading article over two columns in length, headed with a quotation from Macaulay, our contemporary represents the Braminical view of the political situation. . . . . .We see long quotations from Dadabhai Naoroji's speeches and writings. If there was one public man in India more than another who asserted most emphatically that India should get self-government when she was fit for it, it was Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The Grand Old Man of India has not been, to our knowledge, a sympathiser with the political extremists in India and when Mrs. Besant formed her Home

Rule League and appointed Dadabhai Naoroji as its President and announced that fact to the world at large, the Grand Old Man even in his retirement promptly contradicted the announcement that he was the President of the Home Rule League. . . . . .The Hindu considers that the majority of educated Indians hold opinions on political questions contrary to what Dr. Nayar holds. If that is so, the majority of educated Indians must have recently changed their opinion in a manner that is highly detrimental to the future political progress of India. The Hindu quotes from Macaulay and Burke and Mr. G.H. Wells to show that the Him Government of India by England is detrimental to the interests of India. Our contemporary may quote not only Macaulay and Burke but also John Stuart Mill, not only H.G. Wells but Mr. Morley Roberts and Mr. Pettridge without convincing us that the English Government in India has not been to the benefit of this country. It is true that Macaulay always expressed a wish to see the people of India capable of governing themselves some day or other. Macaulay never did say or write anything to show that he wanted the people of India to be left to govern themselves before they were fit to do so. It was Macaulay's wish to 'edudate our subjects into a capacity for better Government by good Government." He would never have been a party to throw back the people of India into the 'lowest depths of slavery and superstition' from which it was the privilege of the British nation to raise them, and it is

an unquestionable fact that the very community which had thrown the people of India into a condition of slavery and superstition and kept them there will be the responsible rulers of India if self-government were conceded to this country at this juncture. It was the selfishness and the spirit of exclusiveness of that community that kept the rest of the Hindu population in a condition of slavery and superstition, in order that they themselves might live on the fat of the land without doing a stroke of work to earn their living. . . . . .The overwhelming mass of the Hindu population were hewers of wood and drawers of water for the small Brahmanical oligarchy in times gone by. Tjey have been rescued from that position by the British Government, and they object now to be thrown back into the condition from which they have been so happily rescued. . . . . If in an unfortunate moment the British nation were to concede self-government for this country before they are fit for it, the Brahman will find that his tenure as the administrator of this country will be very very short-lived if he does not have the British army and the British Generals to keep him in his place. If the Home Rulers really feel that they are fit to undertake the administration of this country and the British Government believe in this assertion, let the experiment be tried of setting up an administration of t eir own independent of British authority and let us see how long that administration lasts. If the British nation wants to try the experiment

of leaving us Indians alone, we non-Brahmans, can settle the Home Rule question in a few hours, and the settlement will not be found very pleasant by our Brahman Home Rulers. Dr. Nayar said that at the present time educated Indians cannot be depended upon to look after interests of the uneducated masses, and that in this respect the uneducated massesas a rule get greater justice and fairplay at the hands of Englishmen than at the hands of their own countrymen. He adheres to that statement in spite of all that the Hindu has to say and, if further challenged, may have to go into unpleasant details to justify his position. . . . . .There is a class of men in this country, who, because some of them have been able to creep into high office by,. . . . . .to use Macaulay's expression,. . . . . .being obsequious toadies of British officials, consider that they are capable of administering this large country. These are the men who have followed no pursuit in life except cramming to pass examinations, creeping themselves into some office or other, there living on a salary paid out of public revenues contributed by hardworking ryots. The forefathers of this class did the same in ancient India. The descendants of this class expect to do the same when India gets self-government. When India ever does get self-government, we hope there will be no weakly British officials to pitchfork this class of men into high office, because when India next gets self-government the representa-

tions of the class who cultivate the soil and toil unceasingly to contribute to the national wealth, intend to make these men do real work, to earn their living. A class of men doing nothing but imposing on, and enjoying the fruits of the toil of others, will have no place in the self-governing India of the future."

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Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

75. The prapanchamitran, of the 23rd Fenruary, publishes what purports to be a translation of the comments of the Indian Social Reformer on this subject.

The system of indentured labour.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 7th March, reports Mr. Polak to have said at Vizianagram:- Among the Indian coolies in the Colonies, each woman has many husbands. In places like the Fiji Islands, the suicides among Indians is 20 times, and crimes and punishments 80 times the number in our country. As soon as the Indian coolies arrive there, certain European merchants separate the married from the unmarried, and each woman will be under the control of five or six men. Can the chastity of women be maintained under such a state of things? We must, therefore, ask the authorities to abolish indentured labour at once. It is the wish of some to ameliorate the condition of the coolies to some extent and introduce a new system for the convenience of the Colonists. But no such change will satisfy us. Indentured labour should altogether be avoided.

Indentured labour.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 7th March, says:- All admit that those who emigrate under indenture to labour, labour under inhuman restrictions in the Colonies. Those

we appointed to enquire into their condition say that prostitution and suicides prevail there. Those women who lead chaste life in the motherland are spoiled in the Colonies. The reason is that the number of men is large and that of women small. Mr. Pears and Mr. Andrews, who visited the Colonies give the same sad report. If any Government in the world continue a system that is opposed to righteous life, they do injustice to the whole world. . . . .
It is not known how the indentured system which is not fit for the Europeans, if fit for the Indians. Is it fair to say, "One rule for you and another for us"? It is improper to maintain a system that is opposed to the maintenance of justice. Indentured labour leads to the swerving of the emigrants from the right path and results in dishonour to the Indian nation. It is, therefore, the duty of the rulers and the ruled to see it abolished. Indentured labour is no better than compulsory slavery and is opposed to the natural rights of man. Although the Colonists and the labourers may profit by it pecuniarily, it leads to the dishonour of the Indian nation, and to suicides.

Indentured labour.

The Hitakarini, of the 4th March, reproduces the article on Indentured labour already abstracted ffom the Desamata, of the 28th February on page 618 of the weekly report.

Indentured labour.

The correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 12th March, says:- Another meeting took

place the next day. The odium that Bengal was idle while the rest of India was protesting against indentured labour had that day been removed. . . . . .When Mr. Andrews narrated a story regarding the Fiji Islands, we, the audience, have all shed tears. When such great horrors take place under civilised rule in the twentieth century, it is most sinful to keep aloof as silent spectators. . . . . .The Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Sir Rash Bihari Ghose sympathised with the object of the meeting. Will the Government respect the opinion of the people expressed indignantly from every corner of India, or willthey keep indifferent, regarding the purse of the white masters as more important than the honour and life of the coloured races?

Indentured labour.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 13th March, has a cartoon of an elephant uprooting a tree, taken from the Hindi Punch, Bombay, the elephant representing India and the tree representing indentured labour at the stem, and slavery, prostitution, immorality and murders, at the top.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 13th March, says:- It was impossible for Lord Chelmsford to turn a deaf ear to the strong protests of all classes of the public against indentured labour. If the policy of the passive resistence had been adop ed in India as in Africa to put an end to the system, the position of the Government would have become

unberable. Without necessitating the adoption of this policy, Lord Chelmsford has done well in stopping emigration under indenture to labour and maintaining the honour of the Indianss Leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Tilak said that the Indians could not wait for five years, and that the system of indentured labour should be stopped by the month of May. In accordance with their sentiments, His Excellency has stopped the system under section 2 of the Defence of India Act, for which the Indians feel grateful to him.

The Secretary of State for India on the indenture system.

76. Referring to the letter written by the Secretary of State for India in reply to that of the Government of India recommending the abolition of this system, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th February, writes as follows:- Indians cannot fail to feel regret and resentment after reading that letter. It is written as though this country is bound to supply the required number of coolies to the Colonies which depend on the Indian coolies. Lord Hardinge has proved by accounts very clearly that the wages earned by the coolies in some parts of India itself are higher than those paid in the colonies. It is not, therefore, an advantage for the coolies to go to those countries. Why should we alone render obligations to those who do not own brotherhood with us? The Secretary of State has said that, if the colonies took the coolies away under other systems, the Government of India could not look after their welfare.

If these countries are prohibited from recruiting coolies from India, what will they do? If, for any reason, it be considered just that Canada can make a law forbidding Indians to enter that country, why should it not be just to make a law in India that the Fiji and other islands should not recruit coolies from India? The Secretary of State says that the Colonial Governments have made extensive provisions in the interest of the Indentured Coolies, and that it is doubtful whether they would consen to extending them to coolies under the voluntary system. Those that wish to know the value of these provisions should read once againet the speech delivered on the indenture system by Lord Hardinge on the 20th March last. If the Government of India and the Secretary of State will but realise that they duty is but to safeguard the inter sts of India exclusively, the welfare of this country will be secured.

77. The Andhrapmakasika, of the7th March refers, to the meeting held in the Gokhale Hall in Madras to protest against emigration and remarks:-

Emigration.

As there is commotion all over India in this matter, we suggest that the Government will do well to consider about it and pass suitable orders.

78. The Andhrapatrika, of the 8th March, says:-

Labourers in Ceylon and Malay.

Ordinarily, the labourers start work

in the plantations with a deb . It appears that on an average each emigrant has a debt of Rs.70 which he will take ten months to pay off if he lives a thrifty life. The labourer is therefore neither happy nor is he enabled to save anything. It is strange under such circumstances that the committee appointed to enquire into the condition of the coolies have stated that the wages paid to them enable them to live comfortably and to save something. As 15 per cent of those admitted into the hospital die, it cannot be believed that the labourers keep good health as stated by the committee. The number of deaths among them is twice as large as that among the ordinary peøple. A fourth of the suicides in the country takes place among the coolies and one-half among the Tamilians. The coolies may give up their service after giving a month's notice. But this is not ordinarily possible, for the coolies, being in debt, could not leave the Kangani. The above facts show that the condition of the emigrants in Ceylon is unsatisfactory. Their income is small, debts, large, the rate of mortality, high, and convenlences to secure comforts, very limited. The committee should have enqüired into the rêasons and suggested redress. There is no use publishing hearsay things.

Among the labourers that went to Malay, there were two women for every five men. Among the Andhra labourers going ther , there are four women for every seven men. The committee stated thzt, unlike the labourers in Ceylon, the labourers in Malay are not indebted but save something. But this opinion has not been arrived at

after a careful sifting of facts, but has been formed by enquiring the returning emigrants and an emigration authority. The committee, it is to be regretted, has arrived at its decision in the matter.of Malzy emigrants also without making proper enquiry."

79. The Andhraprakasika, of the 10th March, has some verses on the subject of indentured labour

Indian women in Fiji.

which contain the following:- "Alas! Morality and honour have gone to ruin. Our modesty has been consigned to the fire. . . . . .We may even run into the hell, but we cannot see the troubles of our countrymen in the Fiji Islands. Alas! Our silence is death to them."

The Paper adds:- These verses are the outcome of a wish on the part of Rev. Andrews that his object will be gained if his English verses are rendered into the vernaculars and read everywhere. We hope that these verses will be recited in all meetings in the Andhra country, where indentured labour is protested against.

80. The Vijayavikaatan, of the 10th February, writes as follows on the prohibition of Mr.

Wadia gagged too.

Wadia's lecture by the Madras Government:- The Government have come to regard lectures as being in themselves objectionable, which is entirely an erroneous thing. It would seem that the Government are doing so by relying largely on the words of some persons. Great men

have said that it is not right to do anything relying on the words of others. When questions were asked in the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces as to why the order had been issued to Mrs. Besant not to enter the Provinces ~~as to why~~ the Chief Commissioner replied that as a result of Mr. Wadia's lecture at Nagpur, which contained many seditions statements, the country was greatly agitated, an considering how much more vigorous that lady's lecture was likely to be, when her messenger's lecture itself was so vigorous the prohibition order was issued to her. Under what principle have the Government prohibited a lecture, shen they cannot find any fault in the conduct or speech of the person delivering it. Have they studied the mind by the facial index? If such ability could be found in Madras, would the All-mericiful God go out of it? Now the people are afraid to go to courts or call them such. Not a day passes without three-fourths of the people that go to courts complaining against them. Once my friends and myself met a man coming out of a court-house, who spoke with aching heart "No right-minded man would come to courts; onely men of low character would go there." The authorities, who are unable to learn all this, have found out faults in Mr. Wadia's lecture before it was delivered. It is only the Madras Government who do everything in this way. If they had merely relied on the words of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in issuing theorder of prohibition why should they warn the newspapers? If those that

govern a great province be hasty like this, in a ~~trivia~~ trivial matter, what will be the lot of the people? Now how many riots have occurred in the Central Provinces as the result of Mr. Wadia's lecture? What is the extent of the agitation caused by It, How many plunders, cruelties, fights and quarrels have resulted? Again, when the Commissioner had communicated the order or phohibition to Mr. Wadia, he locked up the hall and kept a guard over it. Why should an extra Police guard be placed there, and why should so many Police officers inclusive of the "small Commissioner" and the "big Commissioner" assemble there? Have the Government thought that the Madras Presidency is the same as the other Provinces? It appears that the Government are weilding the Defence of India Act as a weapon, as they find occasion. All the people that came there praised the Government heartily for the Police guard on that day. On account of this praise, the matter became more public than it should have done otherwise.

This article is headed by some comic verses in which the following occurs:- The goddess (generally evil) that came in quest of room, now waves the flag.

Prohibition of Mr. Wadia's lecture in Madras.

81. The Prapanchamitran, of the 23rd February, reproduces the comments of the Amrita Bazaar Patrika on this subject.

Students and politics.

89. Referring to the order issued by the Director of Public Instruction of the Central Provinces to the Inspectors of Schools at Nagpur forbidding students to attend public meetings and participate in them, the Lokopakari, of the 26th February, writes as

follows:- The reason is not known why this order has been issued all of a sudden. Though students should not enter into politics, it does not appear reasonable that the authorities should bind them from attending political meetings. It is students that will come out as future patriots. It is, indeed, necessary that they should be acquainted with the condition of the country. If students should not attend political meetings, they should not read the papers either, which publish matters relating to politics; and their not being prohibited from reading such papers is indeed wonderful.

90. The Lokopakari, of the 26th February, in its leading article under this head, writes

The Indian Defence Force.

as follows. The war that is taking place in Europe is fraught with good results to India. It is a good thing for India that the idea should have been formed by our Government that it is better to trust Indians than foreigners. The fact that the Indians have remained peaceful without stirring up any disturbance during all the two and a half years since the outbreak of the war in spite of the fact that the entire army which had been stationed in India have gone to the battle-field, served to make the Government repose confidence in the Indians. If, as now contemplated by the Government they had admitted the Indians to the Indian Defence Force, and given them military training in the beginning of the war, crores of Indians should have

gone to the battlefield and beaten the Germans and scattered them by this ~~lesse~~.time. It is because our Government had nottill now reposed confidence in us the war has been dragging on so long. If Indiza had been a self-governing country like the British Colonies, Germany would not have dreamt of opposing Britain. Till now, only a section of the Indians were admitted to the army. But as all classes of Indians will hereafter be admitted, they will acquire herosim and valour, law-abiding tendency, and the strength and skill to guard their country. The scandal that the Indians have not the strength required for guarding their country, if they are entrusted with swaraj, will now be removed,. The Indian heroes have proved in the present war that the Indians can face any other nation in the world and fight with equal strength. If all the Indians could be made to acquire military efficiency, none will dream of invasion against our Government. It should be considered that good days have dawned upon both the British Empire and India by reason of the Government having come forward to give military training to the Indians.

The Defence of the Empire.

The Swadesamitran, of the 24th February, publishes what purports to be the summarised translation of a lecture delivered by Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar, Editor of this paper, on the strength of the navy and the army formed for the defence of the Empire, on the 23rd idem at the Gokhale Hall under the presidency of Mrs. Annie Besant, and of the President's concluding speech.

The Indian Defence Force.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 7th March, and the Andhrapatrika, of the 9th March, exhorts the public to join the defence of India force in large numbers and serve their motherland without wavering in hesitation, and doubt.

The Indian Defence Force.

Under this heading, the Hitakarini, of the 4th March, says:- A distinction has been made between the British and the Indians, which is painful. The time limitation in the Indian Defence Force Bill is short and must be removed. Equal honour and equal facilities should be given to both the British and the Indians. This is not opposed to the pledges of the British sovereign. If the suggestions of Pundit Malaviya had been followed, the Empire would have done its duty. We fear that the people will not be encouraged to join the army until the distinction referred to above is removed.

The Indian Defence Force.

In an article exhorting the Indians to enlist in the Defence Force, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 12th March, writes:- Those enlisted are asked to go to the Punjab or the United Provinces for their training. This is a great mistake. Arrangements should be made to afford training at local centres. For active service, however, they may be sent wherever they are required. It is inexpedient to ask them to go to a distant place for training itself. If the Government of India and the Home authorities should consider this point and make proper arrangements therefor India can easily provide at least 20 million troops.

Referring to the Indian Defence Force, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 14th March, writes:- It would be a shame to India, if she should depend on a force from outside for her defence. Other people cannot be expected to be so enthusiastic in the defence of our country as we are. This is not the time to discuss matters relating to pay and other rights. We may be quite confident that our Government will grant us all privileges, when they become convinced of our loyalty, ~~partic~~ patriotism, and enthusiasm.

The Indian Defence Force.

91. Referring to the speech delivered by the Commander-in-Chief in the Imperial Legislative Council, in introducing the Indian Defence Force Bill, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th February, makes the following observations:- The Commander-in-Chief stated that arrangements would be made to minimise, as far as possible, the difficulties and losses likely to affect those that join the force, and that similar measures would be adopted in the case of the Indians also. This latter, however, does not find any mention in the Bill, and it is stated that these measures will be effected later by the committee in the rules to be drafted by it. It is highly necessary, therefore, that they should be clearly made known to the public beforehand; and it will be better still if they can be included in the Bill itself. Besides, if all the particulars are clearly

Indians in the New Defence Force.

published immediately regarding the arrangements that are proposed to be made now and hereafter to see that the education and profession of the Indians joining this force are not much affected, the doubts and erroneous impressions, which it is possible for the Indians to have in this matter, will be removed and the object of the Government realised;

The Swadesamitran, of the 24th Febzuary, has a note on the subject of higher posts being conferred on the Indians in the new Indian army, in which is found the following:- A telegram received today states that the Secretary of State for India said in the House of Commons that he had received information from the Viceroy that the Indian Army Act provided for the higher posts in the army being conferred on the Indians, and that the same would be conferred when they were qualified for them. We do not understand the meaning of this. It is a strange thing for us to be told that there are no Indians qualified to occupy higher ranks in the army than that of an ordinary sepoy.

The Swadesamitran, of the 28th February, publishes comments on the Indian Defence Force Bill by the Bengalee, the Amrita Bazaar Patrika and the Leader.

The Defence of India Force and students.

92. The Kerala Patrika, of the 10th March, dwells upon the necessity of holding meetings in Malabar too, as in other parts of India, for including

the people to join the army, and thinks that special arrangements should be made for the training of students who join the army, so that their education may not suffer.

93. The Lokaprakasam, of the 12th March, takes exception

The Commander-in-Chief on India's contributions.

to the statement of the Commander-in- chief in the Imperial Legislative Council that India had not borne her share of the burden of the war to the same extent that the Colonies had done, and that the past two years and a half testified to the prosperity of India, in spite of the fact that, though a few merchants might have had material gains during the said period, the people in general were undergoing various hardships. Incidentally it refers to the fall in the price of Government paper to 65, which at thebeginning of thewar was 95.

97. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 9th March, in a leader

Government officials and the question of volunteers.

on the marginally noted subject, writes:- At last the voice of the devoted and self-sacrificing subjects of the British Government has been heard and time has come to make an endeavour for the advancement of Indians. For instance, His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army announced, at a meeting of the Legislative Council held at Delhi in January 1917, that Indians will be granted their full rights. Enthusiastic and loyal Indians have been granted similar rights enjoyed by the English people in the matter of voluntary and military service. Telegraphic messages brought us the news, and we heartily congratulate Indians on this recognition accorded them.

We regret to observe the number of Indian Mussalmans that have hitherto enlisted. As a matter of fact Mussalmans should have shown themselves more useful on this occasion. The valiant blood and the feeling of honour and self-respect have been reaching boiling point in the veins of Islam and Mussalmans are best fitted for military service. But they do not appear to come forward with the same enthusiasm as the Hindus and Brahmans do. Our opinion is that the Government can expect more volunteers from among its own servants than from amongst others. It seems advisable to enrol Government servants(clerks) and teachers as is being done in other provinces. Teachers are accustomed to maintaining discipline and exercising authority, as their business is to control large number of boys. Besides they have further opportunities in the class room for inspiring their pupils with pluck and enthusiasm.

99. The Prapanchamitran, of the 23rd February, writes:-

India's goal. Eminent Englishmen like Lord Macaulay have often stated that England would continue to rule India only till the latter was trained to rule herself and that, if that moment arrived, England would doubtless leave India to be governed by her own people. We heartily believed in the statements of all these men and have been waiting with patience till now. We wish the Government to know that we will wait no longer. The time has gone when our fitness to have swaraj was questioned. No one will dare to say that Indians are unfit to have swaraj, but some Englishmen like Mr.Curtis whose brains have become round and small on account of

their association with the Round Table, some others like Lord Sydenham and Mr. Rees who (are unsympathetic towards India, though eating her salt still) get terrified at the very mention of swaraj for India, name and some "big" men who have only a "small" brain.

The Indian National Congress has, ever since it came into existence, been crying only for some reforms in the Government. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji observed as the President of this Congress in 1906 that swaraj was the only remedy for all the grievanees of India and preached the doctrine of swaraj to the Indians. The Indians have not forgotten this doctrine yet. Though this truth was hidden for some time on account of the foolish acts of certain officials, the indifference of the Muhammadans and the fear of some timid people, it is now shining with tenfold lustre. We have made swaraj our goal and impressed this on our mind. No one can remove this from our mind. This goal of ours is based on the proclamation of Queen Victoria. This is the goal set before us by England, the seat of liberty and it is the natural birthright of our community. We are anxiously hoping to attain this goal soon. When countries of recent growth like Australia and Canada are enjoying swaraj, it cannot but pain the Indians to see that the land of their birth, whose imperishable civilisation is many centuries old and which had become very famous at a time when the modern nations were in a state of savagery is without swaraj. When the Phillippine Islands, which came under America only recently,

have become fit for swaraj, what is the reason for our being unfit for it? If the British Government, which has been here for the last 150 years, has not made us fit for it, why can we not say that it will not befit us hereafter? But the time has gone when the Englishmen were saying that we were unfit for it. The Report of the Public Services Commission, which was recently issued, has decided that Indians are fit for any appointment. No one can hereafter say that they are not fit. Is it fair to accuse us of inability to protect our country, after depriving us of our manliness by the introduction of the Arms Act? It is no doubt true that a community cannot enjoy liberty, if its progress is impeded by several laws which are prejudicial to its growth. But when India, while being subject to the restriction imposed by these laws, has produced eminent men like Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Gokhale and Jagidish Chandar Bose, we need not say what kind of men will appear in free India. Let the Englishmen abolish all these laws and grant liberty to India. It can be seen then whether the Indians can govern themselves or not. In the beginning some mistakes may occur. But which community has progressed in administration without committing mistakes? Taking England, itself, which is said to have the best type of a Government, how many mistakes did she commit and how many disturbances occurred before she attained this form of Government? But we are sure to have swaraj without any such disturbances. We think that it is for this purpose that the Almighty has placed us under the British rule, and that we are specially fortunate in this respect. Therefore may the Almighty help us to attain our goal through the English public.

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